

SEPT. 8-11, 2013 • LOS ANGELES CONVENTION CENTER

CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS

TWENTY-SEVENTH CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AFL-CIO



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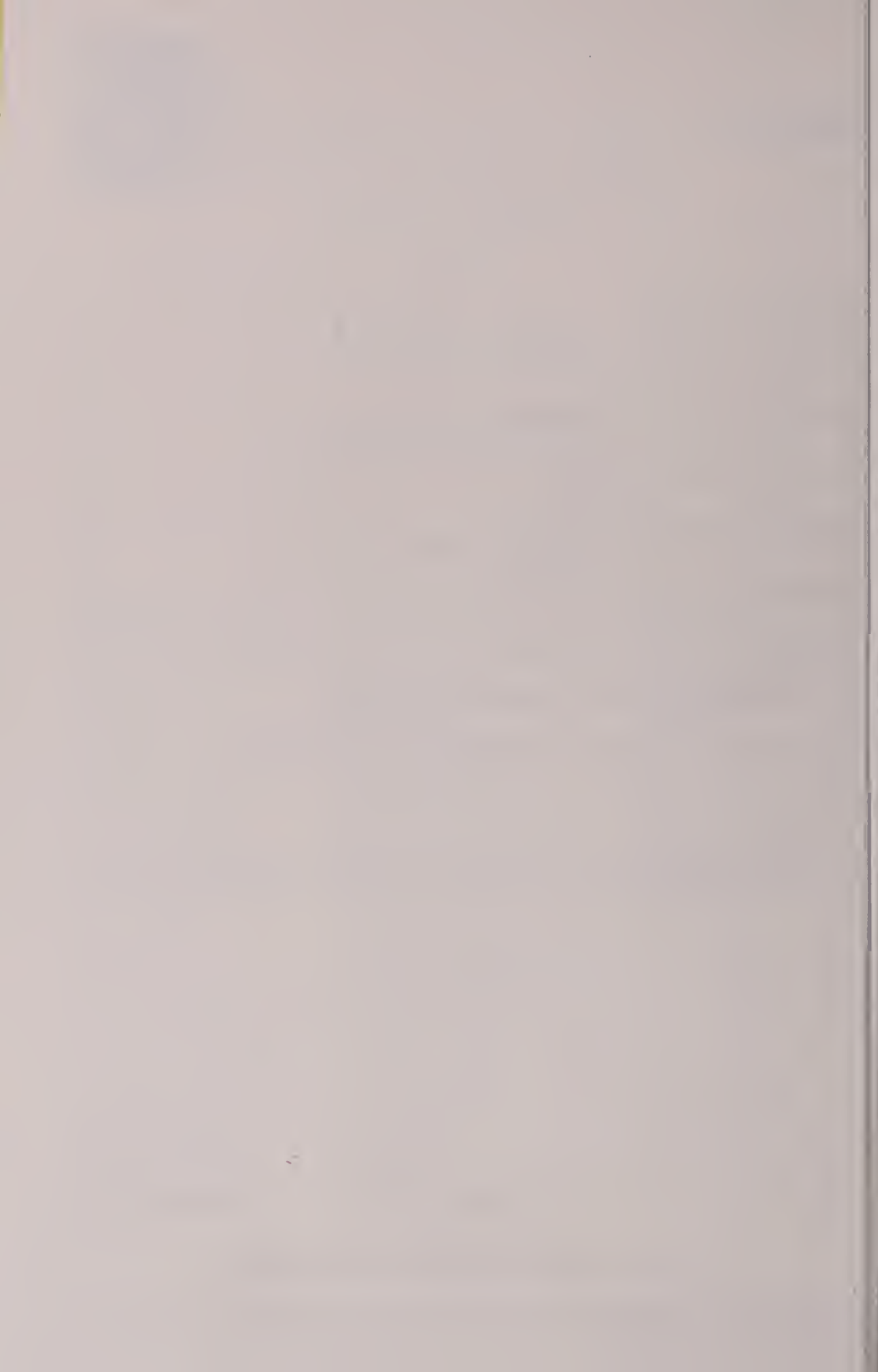
Executive Council members as of Sept. 8, 2013

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FIRST DAY

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 2013



The 27th Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations was called to order in the Los Angeles Convention Center, commencing at 3 p.m., María Elena Durazo, executive secretary-treasurer of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, presiding as temporary chairperson.

TEMPORARY CHAIRPERSON MARÍA ELENA DURAZO: Sisters and brothers, the 2013 AFL-CIO Convention will now come to order. *(Applause)*

Welcome to Los Angeles.

"¡Bienvenidos a La Ciudad de Nuestra Senora de Los Angeles!"

When you think of Los Angeles, I bet two things come to mind: Our beaches and movie stars.

I want you to know that our beaches are guarded by union lifeguards. And our movie stars are proud union members, too, along with an army of skilled craftspeople behind the camera. *(Applause)*

So while you're here, have fun, enjoy the sun, see the sights and come with us on Tuesday night to see the best team in baseball, the Los Angeles Dodgers! *(Cheers and boos)*

That's right, wherever you are. But I've got to tell you, that which side you are on could be as much about sports as it is about the class war.

But it's a real-life class war we find ourselves in as we meet here in this great convention.

Corporate America and the right-wing extremists like the Koch brothers continue to drive down the standard of living of American workers bit by bit by bit when they plan to destroy our movement.

The Koch brothers may have a plan to destroy us, but like Mike Tyson once said about his boxing opponents, "Everybody's got a plan until I hit 'em in the face." *(Laughter)*

There are a few rounds left in the fight for the heart and soul of our country.

Our country is the Wisconsin worker uprising. We had the privilege to be a small part of that. With just 48 hours' notice, we sent an entire planeload of rank-and-file workers and community activists to participate in the occupation of that capital.

I'll never forget that Wisconsin chant, "This is what democracy looks like!"

We sent 80 union members from L.A. to Ohio to beat back the Kochs' anti-labor ballot initiative.

When immigrants were under attack in Arizona, we sent seven busloads of workers to Phoenix.

When miners were locked out of the Rio Tinto borax mine, 120 miles away in the middle of the Mojave Desert, we organized an emergency caravan of 250 cars and trucks and brought food to the miners and their families. *(Applause)*

That's just a little picture of what we've done in Los Angeles. And you, brothers and sisters, have done similar things in cities and in states all across this country. There's a lot of fight left in the American labor movement, and there sure as hell is a lot of fight left in us as we push for a path to citizenship for our country's immigrants. *(Applause)*

At the L.A. Federation of Labor, we made a conscious decision to link the struggle for immigration reform with organizing workers. At the beginning of this summer we hired 20 young immigrant students, most of them Dreamers. We partnered with a handful of our unions engaged in active unionizing campaigns in a variety of industries.

Our young student organizers wake up early in the morning to meet nonunion immigrant workers at their jobs in hotels, in carwashes, in construction sites and in grocery stores. In less than four months these young people have gotten 2,000 contacts! *(Applause)*

Brothers and sisters, let's take the same spirit, the same determination of these young Dreamers into this convention and emerge as a stronger voice for all of America's workers.

Welcome to L.A.! *(Applause)*

Now, please stand for the presentation of the colors by the United Firefighters of Los Angeles City Local 112.

...United Firefighters of Los Angeles City Local 112 presented the colors.

DURAZO: Brothers and sisters, please remain standing for the singing of our National Anthem by Stephanie Reese.

...The National Anthem of the United States was sung by Stephanie Reese.
(Applause)

DURAZO: Thank you, Stephanie. *(Applause)*

It is now my privilege to introduce the archbishop of Los Angeles. He has distinguished himself serving the Latino communities of Mexico and Texas and as a national leader in a number of the church's most important campaigns and initiatives. He has also emerged as a champion of the immigrants in our midst.

When the history of modern L.A. is written, one of its proudest chapters will record how, beginning in the '90s, L.A. labor and the church steadfastly stood time after time against bigotry and oppression by championing the cause of immigrants and immigrant workers.

In a book he recently wrote, the archbishop told of how, as a child, he went back and forth over the border from his home in Mexico to visit his uncle in San Antonio, so that he scarcely distinguished between Mexico and the U.S. He is working hard with us to pass the bipartisan immigration reform bill with its path to citizenship.

In a recent sermon, the archbishop asked us to think of immigrants as souls and not statistics. "We are talking about fathers who, without warning, won't be coming home for dinner tonight," the archbishop said.

With approximately 5 million professing members, the Archdiocese of Los Angeles is numerically the single largest diocese in the United States, with church services offered to 72 different ethnic groups.

Sisters and brothers, please join me in giving a warm labor movement welcome to the archbishop of Los Angeles, the Most Reverend José H. Gomez. (*Applause*)

INVOCATION

MOST REVEREND JOSÉ H. GOMEZ

Los Angeles Archdiocese

Thank you, María Elena. Good afternoon everyone, and welcome to Los Angeles. We are at a serious moment in the life of our country. As we know, our leaders in Washington seem to be getting ready to make a decision against the Syrian regime for using chemical weapons against its people. The Catholic Church does not believe that violence is the right answer to these atrocities: Proportionate ceasefire negotiations.

Yesterday, at the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Angels in Los Angeles, we joined Pope Francis and all Catholics all around the world in observing a day of prayer and fasting for peace. So we need to keep the innocent people of Syria in our hearts today, and we need to pray for peace everywhere beginning with peace in our whole hearts.

Today is also a day that the Catholic bishops in the United States have asked to be a day of prayer for immigration reform. As you know, Congress comes back this week to debate this issue, so we need to keep that in our prayers, too. I want to commend all of you for your work on this issue. In my opinion, the immigration reform is the great human rights test of our time. For me, our national debate with immigration is a great struggle for the American experience and the American soul.

So we need to keep working together, my dear friends. We need to be the conscience of our nation. I am grateful for the invitation today. I am happy to be here to renew our friendship. As you know, the Catholic Church has always strived to better the workers, here in Los Angeles and everywhere in the world. That commitment will always continue.

So, now, let us settle our hearts and minds. May God's blessings be upon us as we keep working together for human dignity and justice and peace. So let us pray.

God, we thank you for the gift of life that makes us all sisters and brothers.

Father, we thank you for the gift of work. Give us love for those that do not have work, and those who do not have enough work.

Give us faith as a society where every worker is treated with dignity and the economy works for the common good.

Give us hope, Lord, that God's gifts are shared—especially your gift of peace.

Father, give us the strength to work together to meet the challenges we face in our commitments, to build strong marriages and healthy families, teach good values to our children.

Give us courage to defend the sanctity of human life and to stand with anyone who is suffering.

Father of wisdom, we pray that you guide us as we seek to have comprehensive immigration reform now so we can continue to build an America that lives up to its beautiful promises of liberty, equality, opportunity and justice for all.

Dear God, we trust in your holy strength of love, and the love for anyone. And we ask all these things through your son, Jesus Christ. Work with human hands and love with our human heart. Amen. *(Applause)*

DURAZO: Thank you, Archbishop José Gomez.

You know, not too many people can say they beat the Koch brothers. Our next speaker has beaten them twice. In 2012, the Koch brothers and other ultra-rich, right-wing extremists put a Wisconsin-style anti-labor initiative on the California ballot.

Under the leadership of our next speaker, California voters defeated the Koch ballot initiative by 13 points. *(Applause)*

Now he did that at the same time we passed a ballot initiative to tax the rich. *(Applause)*

And then last, but not least, when the Koch brothers announced they wanted to buy the L.A. Times and the other papers in the Tribune chain, he organized a fight back that took us from the streets to pension funds. Just a few weeks ago, in a very rare move, the Kochs spoke publicly and announced they were no longer interested in buying the L.A. Times and the other Tribune papers. *(Applause)*

Sisters and brothers, please welcome the leader of the California Labor Federation, representing 2 million unionized workers, Art Pulaski. *(Standing ovation)*

ART PULASKI

Executive Secretary-Treasurer, California Labor Federation

Thank you, María Elena Durazo, my friend and partner in building power for working people in California where we all, the best unions and the best labor councils anywhere, where we all beat the Koch brothers together. *(Applause)*

Then we thanked them. We thanked them for being the best organizers we had to mobilize our members when they went to the polls. They said, "Well, since we're here, we might as well take the defense and turn it into the offense." Right?

Well, so they passed two-thirds majority in both houses in the legislature, we won four additional Democratic congressional seats in California, and then we passed Prop 30, the measure to tax the millionaires.

So thank you to the Koch brothers. Maybe you'll come back and visit us again some day.

So I'm honored to be here with some friends to welcome this assembly, this assembly of the best leaders, the best organizers and the best freedom fighters for economic justice anywhere on the globe. Congratulations! We're delighted we're here, we're honored you are here.

So these are just a few of my friends here from the 110,000 new union members who organized and joined the union last year in California.

I'd like to introduce them to you. *(Applause)*

Jeanine Wakehouse, AFSCME United Nurses. *(Applause)*

Juan Echevarria, from the carwash workers, USW. *(Applause)*

Susana Garcia, you're not here.

Prince Jones, you're not here.

Adriana Diaz, IBEW 47. *(Applause)*

Marc Bender and Matthew De Carolis from AFSCME 946. (*Applause*)
Martha Mendez, Raquel Miranda, Marcos Gurubel and Irma Garcia, all from UFCW 770 here in L.A., and Damian Gomez from SAG-AFTRA. (*Applause*)

They don't just represent our labor movement. They define it. They are our heart and soul.

No one knows that better than this man. In 1989, the Pittston Coal Company took health care away from retirees, the disabled and widows of the miners.

This young Mine Workers president named Rich Trumka took his members into a tough 10-month street fight with company goons, the courts and the state police all opposing him.

He said to his members, "Let's throw out all those restraining orders. Let's get back to the basics. Let's fight like hell."

When the dust was settled, with sheer force of will and the dynamic leadership of one of the most dynamic leaders we will ever know, they won. I think that history will show that he is leading labor now through one of our most challenging times and will win again.

He's taking on anti-union CEOs, right-wing sons of billionaires who have never had a pink slip, a giveback or a setback in their lives. He can take on a struggle to the streets or beat the opponent in a primetime TV debate.

But on the way you'll watch Rich Trumka and he'll always stop to pay attention to a disadvantaged kid or a struggling single mom. He's also leading the fight nationally for immigrant rights.

Now, with this convention, he is setting us on a course to build our strength for the fights ahead. So please welcome the man who will lead the way to organize more members, to build more power, to win more battles and to set this country on a new path, where together we will reclaim the American dream for everybody.

Please welcome our leader, my friend, our friend, our brother, the president of the AFL-CIO, Rich Trumka. (*Standing ovation*)

WELCOMING ADDRESS

RICHARD L. TRUMKA President, AFL-CIO

Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. I want to thank you, Art, and I want to thank you, María Elena, and I want to thank you for your warm welcome to the wonderful city of Los Angeles.

You see, we're here together for what I believe will be one of the most important and historic gatherings of our lifetime. It comes at a time of economic and political turmoil. The people who are the heart and the soul of America are in trouble. Jobs are scarce. Wages are flat-lining. Benefits are disappearing. Job quality is eroding, and prospects are dimming for our children and our grandchildren.

For four decades, Wall Street and corporate America have been gaining power over the economy and over working men and women. This has not been some accident of nature. Powerful corporations are forcing down wages and benefits across industries and across sectors. Politicians and policymakers are doing their bidding.

Regular working people have not had so little voice in a very long time. But it's

still too much for the deep-pocketed ideologues who are moving anti-voter and anti-worker initiatives in state after state.

And America's labor movement, key to the revival of the middle class and the restoration of America's leadership position in a global economy, is in peril. This is a seminal moment.

We are here together to seize it. This is where we confront the truth of what we have to do to build shared prosperity and to build a new working-class movement. This is where we come together with workers who are standing up from North Carolina to New York, from Milwaukee to the Bay area, from taxi stands to tobacco fields, from schoolrooms to factories, and make the decisions to shape our movement into a broader, stronger, more modern and effective force for all working people now and into the future.

Now, this convention doesn't begin today, and it will not end on Wednesday, not if we expect to succeed. See, the convention is an ongoing process. Since March, we've been gathering the best ideas for transforming our movement from people who belong to unions and from people who don't, from community partners and activists, academics, progressive leaders and many others. These have been our listening sessions, online and in person, reaching thousands and thousands of people from literally every walk of life.

Now, let me see some hands of who here has held a listening session, or taken part in one, or joined the online discussions on websites and Facebook and Twitter, please raise your hand right now. (*Delegates raise hands*)

Looking good. And we heard you. Throughout this convention and in the plaza outside this hall, you'll see some of what you said on display screens.

The listening sessions have been just one of the strategies that we've employed to develop the resolutions we will consider at this convention. We also have had the benefit of the best ideas, commitment and hard work of more than 100 diverse and dynamic union and community leaders and activists on these three unique convention program committees—the Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action, the Committee on Shared Prosperity in the Global Economy, and the Committee on Community Partnerships and Grassroots Power, appointed in consultation with our Executive Council. Now, let me thank every one of those committee members, and especially the chairs, for what you've done.

You see, this first-time-ever approach we've taken to this convention guarantees that the decisions we make here this week, and they will be big decisions, are guided by representatives of the broadest, most diverse ranks of working people possible.

The ideas and the energy that will drive the rebirth of the labor movement will be on the table here this week.

At this convention we have with us Jim Slaughter as our parliamentarian. Now, Jim, who works with many of your unions, is an attorney, Certified Professional Parliamentarian, Professional Registered Parliamentarian, and the author of two books on parliamentary procedure.

Jim, could you please stand so that everyone will know who's actually running the show up here? (*Applause*)

Good to see you, buddy, and thank you.

You see, we have several days of important business ahead of us at this convention, and we may have some vigorous debate. In keeping with our democratic values, I urge everyone here to help make this an orderly convention with each one of us showing the respect that's due the trade union brothers and sisters.

In keeping with the purposefully inclusive approach to this convention, you will notice that our convention hall is set up quite a bit differently than in the past. Solidarity Partners, allies from outside the movement who share our values and share our commitment, are seated here, too. And union leaders are seated with their delegations rather than being isolated up here.

Now, not all of the convention will be concentrated at this podium. You'll see three microphone areas out there in the hall. That's where much of the action and much of the debate will take place.

Now, these seating arrangements require me to remind you that when a vote is taking place, only official delegates may vote, whether it's a voice vote or other form of vote. I'll ask our Solidarity Partners and other guests to remain seated, and as tempting as it may be to take part in the vote, please remain quiet during a voice vote.

Now, as we conduct debate, those of you who will speak from the floor should be aware of the lighting system on the three microphones out there. As we'll hear in the Rules Committee report, there will be a limit on debate time so that everyone can get a chance to speak.

When you begin speaking, the light will be green. When you have two minutes remaining on your three-minute limit, the green light will be blinking. The yellow light will turn on when you have one minute remaining, and the red light comes on when you've hit the three-minute limit.

Now, another difference in this year's convention is our use of technology. Now, you'll find everything you need on our convention website, which has been optimized to be easily used on your smart phones. So you can get out your smart phone right now, or your tablet now, and if you haven't already, bookmark this page: www.aflcio2013.org. There you'll have no trouble finding convention materials. The Executive Council Report to the Convention, coverage of the convention, and much, much more will be on that website.

A second aspect of our higher-tech approach this year, above me on the big screen you'll see a Twitter feed. I encourage all of you to tweet while you're here, using the hashtag #aflcio13. Let me repeat that, it's #aflcio13. If you're not used to tweeting, and would like to learn, you can visit the Online Digital Strategy booth in the exhibit area and you can get a quick and easy how-to.

There's one more point that I want to make about the convention. Every day from 12:30 until 2, you'll have the opportunity to take part in Action Sessions. You can choose from 48 sessions on every topic that you could hope to investigate, from using art in organizing to the global economy and large-scale organizing. I really, really, really urge you to take advantage of these sessions, because every one of them is designed to provide something new for you to take home with you and then put to work.

As I said earlier, this is an important and even historic convention, and I have to tell you, I truly look forward to working with you during these next couple days. Then I truly look forward to putting what we do here these next couple of days into action all the way down the road.

I really appreciate all of you being here and all you've done.

Now, I would like to call on my brother, Cecil Roberts, chair of the Credentials Committee, for the Credentials Committee report.

Cecil.

REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

VICE PRESIDENT CECIL ROBERTS, Mine Workers: Good afternoon.

Oh, come on. Good gracious. Asleep already? Good afternoon.

...Delegation shouted, "Good afternoon!"

ROBERTS: I asked Rich if I could, this afternoon, bring a pickup truck and park it there where I could speak out of the back of it, because I do my best speaking out of the back of a truck, not at this fancy podium here.

But I want to thank Rich for this wonderful honor to be, once again, the chairman of the Credentials Committee. I'd like to take a moment, if I might, and thank my co-chair, Brother Fred Redmond, along with Brother Larry Hanley, Brother Matthew Loeb, Sister Laura Reyes, Sister Veda Shook and Brother Bruce Smith.

Give those brothers and sisters a round of applause, please. *(Applause)*

Before we get into the official report, I'd like to make a few comments and observations, if I might. I would like to take you back to 2005 in Chicago, if I may.

That was an interesting time, to say the least. We had a number of unions choose to leave the AFL-CIO, but we did not stop fighting. We stood in solidarity and unity and had a vigorous debate. One of the main topics of that Convention was inclusion and diversity.

We passed a resolution at that Convention in Chicago that by 2009, our Convention would reflect the actual membership of the AFL-CIO affiliated unions. And we pledged to one another that we would bring to the 2009 Convention a delegation from every affiliated union that reflected what we stood for.

I want to remind you that we were extremely proud of ourselves in 2009 when 43% of our delegates at that Convention were either women or persons of color.

We should applaud that right now because that's what we stand for. *(Applause)*

But I've got better news today. I want to thank, first of all, the leadership of the AFL-CIO for shining the light in the proper direction here. Forty-six percent of the delegates that are on this floor today to start this Convention are either people of color or women. That calls for a standing ovation, brothers and sisters. *(Standing ovation)*

This labor movement recognizes that whether we're gay or straight, whether we're male or female, whether we're red or yellow, or black or white, we know that we're all precious in God's sight. *(Applause)*

If you would allow me a moment of personal privilege, I spent the day at the diversity conference and listened. Because when you get as old as I am, you ought

to listen to what folks got to say instead of trying to tell them what you think. It was very informative.

But I think President Trumka would agree, and Secretary-Treasurer Shuler would agree, that we need to recognize one person for the way she's led this movement to try to make us more reflective on what we stand for, and for the makeup of our delegates to be the folks who make up this movement, whether we're a woman, a person of color, or where we're from, whether we're gay or straight, and that person is Arlene Holt Baker, our executive vice president.

If you'd give her a round of applause, I'd appreciate it. (*Standing ovation*)

Before we move much further, I would like to take a moment to thank many of you in this hall today who stood with the United Mine Workers over the course of the last six months in our terrible, difficult struggle with Patriot Coal, Peabody and Arch. Many of you've been to jail with us and come to our rallies.

Rich was at the march on April the 1st in Charleston, West Virginia, which was the largest demonstration of any type in the state of West Virginia in over 40 years.

My friend Arlene was arrested in Fairmont with us. Liz Shuler has continually said to me, "Anytime you need me, I will be there for you."

And I want to thank the leadership of the AFL-CIO, and all of you, and God bless all of you for the help you've given us. (*Applause*)

Let me give you a little bit of direction with respect to the diversity rule. The Credentials Committee examined the makeup of all the unions that submitted credentials, and we have found that every single affiliate has met the requirements of the diversity provision.

However, if you look at Rule 10 that I think you have on your desk, with respect to the Credentials Committee, it says that any delegate can challenge the makeup of any of the delegations that are here today. It doesn't have to be your delegation.

Someone from AFSCME could look over in the UMWA delegation and say, "Just doesn't quite look right to me because I think there ought to be more women there, or persons of color," and vice versa. We could look over at AFSCME and say the same thing.

I can tell you that we have examined it closely. You will not find any violations. However, you have a right to register a protest with respect to that, raise an objection, if you choose to do that, as a delegate.

You do not go to the mike and do that. You must go to the registration desk and inform the staff at the registration desk that you want to make this a complaint with the Credentials Committee itself.

I know that someone's looking at these credentials as we stand here right now and saying, "Somebody spelled my name wrong. They have my address wrong," or something along those lines. That is not the opportunity for you to go to the mike and point that out. All you have to do is go to the registration desk and notify someone there and the Credentials Committee will correct that for you.

When we pass a motion today to accept these credentials, it takes us to tomorrow morning. It doesn't take us to the end of the convention. This is the last time you'll see me here because we believe in sharing on the Credentials Committee. Tomorrow my co-chair will be here, and each day we will alternate the person who

will present the report to you.

Anytime that you need to make a change with respect to your makeup of your delegation, all you've got to do is go right to the place that you registered.

So with that, Mr. Chairman, I would like to, at this point in time, to move and report the actual makeup of the body here today.

Mr. President, the Credentials Committee has examined and approved the credentials of over 580 delegates representing 54 national and international unions and organizing committees, five trade and industrial departments, 49 state federations, 153 area labor federations and central labor councils, and directly affiliated NEA locals.

We also have examined and approved the credentials of 276 alternate delegates.

As of noon today, Mr. Chairman, to ensure the maximum participation at this convention, we have also approved the credentials of 43 delegates whose credentials came to this body late.

We did not have to do that, but we erred on the side of the delegates because most of the problems with the credentials were not their problems, it was because someone mailed the credentials late, didn't do what they were supposed to do online. So we said, "Let's seat these delegates." They made the trip to Los Angeles and we believe in inclusion, not exclusion.

But, however, we did have seven directly affiliated local unions who were in arrears with respect to their per capita tax, and they will not be seated at this convention, and it is my belief that they are not here.

I would like to take one more moment to say something to you that I think is very important that we should recognize.

The 2005 Convention, a number of unions did leave. But I think we should applaud the leadership of the AFL-CIO, because three of those unions have come home. And over the course of time since, mostly between 2009 to today, and they're here with us today from the Laborers union, my good friend Terry O'Sullivan. I look out in the crowd and I've known him for 40 years. I'm going to give his age away in a minute if I'm not careful. They're back here with us.

HERE was back at the last convention.

Our brothers and sisters from the Food and Commercial Workers, they're not here as a delegation, but their president and one other delegate is here today, and we should be proud that we've brought home three of these unions. *(Applause)*

With that, Mr. Chairman, the committee moves for adoption.

TRUMKA: It's been moved and seconded to adopt the report of the Credentials Committee. Is there any discussion?

Seeing none. The question is on the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee. Those in favor of the report, signify by saying aye. Opposed, by saying no.

The Credentials Committee report is adopted.

Thank you very much, Cecil. And thank you very much to the members of the Credentials Committee.

(The full report of the Credentials Committee follows; included are delegates registered by their organizations as of September 8, 2013.)

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

Actors' Equity Association—Ira Mont, Paige Price, Melissa Robinette, Nick Wyman—**14,311** votes

Air Line Pilots Association—James Anderson, William Couette, Michael Donatelli, Donald Moak, Michael Robbins—**41,483** votes

Air Traffic Controllers Association, National—Patricia Gilbert, Barry Krasner, Michael MacDonald, Paul Rinaldi—**15,507** votes

American Federation of Government Employees—J. David Cox, Roy Flores, Keith Hill, Eugene Hudson, Dorothy James, Jane Nygaard, Arnold Scott, Gerald Swanke, Augusta Thomas, Derrick Thomas—**275,748** votes

Automobile, Aerospace, & Agricultural Implement Workers of America, International Union, United—Gary Casteel, Charissa Fields, Wendy Fields-Jacobs, Mark Haasis, General Holiefield, Norwood Jewell, Gerald Kariem, Robert King, Ron McInroy, Dennis Williams—**372,412** votes

Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers, International Union—Joyce Alston, Steven Bertelli, Shad Clark, David Durkee, Felipe Lopez, James Rivers—**68,511** votes

Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmith, Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—J. Tom Baca, Cecile Conroy, William Creeden, Robert Godinez, Newton Jones, Bridget Martin—**57,196** votes

Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen, International Union of—Carlos Aquin, James Boland, Timothy Driscoll, Laurel Harris, David Jackson, Henry Kramer, Gerard Scarano—**76,250** votes

California School Employees Association—Michael Bilbrey, Cheryl Carter, Manuel O'Campo, Clyde Rivers, Delores Rodriguez, Don Snyder, Ben Valdepena—**116,724** votes

Communications Workers of America—James Clark, Larry Cohen, Ronald Collins, Claude Cummings, Yvette Herrera, Annie Hill, Bernie Lunzer, Laura Reynolds, Nestor Soto-Lopez, Gregory Wynn—**459,527** votes

Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of—Dean Apple, Rachel Bryan, Jasmine Bush, Sam Chilia, Mike Compton, Christopher Erikson, Frank Grijalva, Edwin Hill, Gary Kelly, Larry Langley, Billy Powell, Robert Prunn, Bryan Stage, Rick Thompson—**569,866** votes

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—James Bender II, Frank Christensen, Larry McGann, Patrick McGarvey—**22,485** votes

Operating Engineers, International Union of—Russell Burns, James Callahan, Michael Gallagher, Brian Hickey, Greg Lalevee, Daniel McGraw, Louis Rasetta, William Waggoner—**280,000** votes

Farm Labor Organizing Committee—Baldemar Velásquez—**1,836** votes

Fire Fighters, International Association of—James Ferguson, Gaylynn Jordan, Frank Lima, Mike Lopez, Thomas Miller, Mahlon Mitchell, A. Mullane, Lou Paulson, Harold Schaitberger, Ricky Walsh—**260,000** votes

Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics & Allied Workers International Union—Donald Carter, Randy Gould, Charles McIntyre, Bruce Smith, Wanda Williams—**27,269** votes

Heat and Frost Insulators and Allied Workers, International Association of—James Grogan, Thomas Haun, Terry Lynch, James McCourt—**18,311** votes

Iron Workers, International Association of Bridge, Structural, Ornamental and Reinforcing—Eric Dean, Angel Dominguez, Jay Hurley, Marvin Ragsdale, Joe Standley, Edward Walsh, Walter Wise—**75,036** votes

Laborers' International Union of North America—Rocco Davis, Oscar De La Torre, Terrence Healy, John Hegarty, Vincent Masino, Terry O'Sullivan, John Penn, Raymond Pocino, Sergio Rascon, Armand Sabitoni—**301,861** votes

Letter Carriers, National Association of—Ingrid Armada, Jane Broendel, Denise Brooks, Lloyd Doucet Jr., Eloise Foster, Anita Guzik, Stephen Hanna, Charles Heege, Fredric Rolando—**183,438** votes

Longshoremen's Association, International—Dennis Daggett, Harold Daggett, Benny Holland, Stephen Knott, Gerald Owens—**38,901** votes

Machinists and Aerospace Workers, International Association of—Gary Allen, Tom Buffenbarger, James Conigliaro, Philip Gruber, Shelley Kessler, Robert Martinez, Sito Pantoja, Robert Roach, Lynn Tucker, Rickey Wallace—**268,122** votes

Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association—Matt Dwyer, Michael Jewell, Dave Nolan—**20,384** votes

Mine Workers of America, United—Shirley Inman, Tanya James, Daniel Kane, Judy Medley, Cecil Roberts, Donnie Samms—**65,000** votes

Musicians of the United States and Canada, American Federation of—Sam Folio, Raymond Hair—**7,200** votes

National Nurses United—Michael Beshears, John Borsos, Audel Contreras, Turusew Gebedu-Wilson, David Mallon, Sophia Mendoza, Ben Snyder, Elizabeth White—**144,434** votes

National Taxi Workers Alliance—Bhairavi Desai—**1,223** votes

Novelty and Production Workers, International Union of Allied—Mark Spano, Steve Torello—**10,300** votes

Office and Professional Employees International Union—Michael Goodwin, Richard Lanigan, Green Lewis, Mary Mahoney, Tim Sullivan, Becky Turner, Nancy Wohlforth—**103,575** votes

Painters and Allied Trades of the United States and Canada, International Union of—William Candelori, George Galis, Davon Lomax, James Reid, Kenneth Rigmaiden, James Williams—**71,920** votes

Plasterers' and Cement Masons' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—Patrick Finley, Earl Hurd, Thomas Mora, Michael Moylan, Daniel Stepano—**40,000** votes

Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the—Gary Cook, Bruce Dantley, William Hite, Robert Lamb, Mark McManus, Anne St. Eloi, Sid Stolper, Ricky Terven, George Vasquez—**219,800** votes

Police Associations, International Union of—Kevin Boyle, Samuel Cabral, Thomas Jordan, John O'Keefe—**14,890** votes

Postal Workers Union, AFL-CIO, American—Judy Beard, Sue Carney, Mike Foster, Omar Gonzalez, Gary Kloepper, Elizabeth Powell, Keith Richardson, Joyce Robinson, Rob Strunk—**220,000** votes

Professional and Technical Engineers, International Federation of—Dean Coate, Gay Henson, Gregory Junemann, Debbie Logsdon, Gerald Newsome, Paul Shearon—**51,247** votes

Professional Athletes, Federation of—DeMaurice Smith—**1,484** votes

Radio Association, American—Cliff Walker—**40** votes

Roofers, Waterproofers and Allied Workers, United Union of—Robert Danley, Thomas Pedrick, Kinsey Robinson, Douglas Ziegler—**17,055** votes

School Administrators, American Federation of—Wendi Caporicci, James Dierke, Ernest Logan, Diann Woodard—**12,631** votes

Screen Actors Guild-American Federation of Television and Radio Artists—Amy Aquino, Catherine Brown, Jim Ferguson, Mike Hodge, Ken Howard, Clyde Kusatsu, Roberta Reardon—**100,000** votes

Seafarers International Union of North America—Thomas Bethel, Dean Corgey, David Heindel, Gunnar Lundeborg, Kermet Mangram, Nick Marrone, Anthony Poplawski—**84,245** votes

Sheet Metal Workers International Association—Charles Henson, Linda Jaloma, Richard McClees, Luther Medina, Joseph Nigro, Joseph Sellers, Arthur Tolentino—**85,000** votes

Signalmen, Brotherhood of Railroad—Jerry Boles, Mark Ciurej, Dan Pickett—**10,083** votes

Stage Employees, Moving Picture Technicians, Artists and Allied Crafts of the United States, Its Territories and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical—Michael Barnes, J. Walter Cahill, Thom Davis, Michael Miller, Deborah Reid, Emily Tao, James Wood—**80,023** votes

State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of—Henry Bayer, Paul Booth, David Fillman, Kathleen Garrison, Raglan George, Mattie Harrell, Johanna Puno Hester, Salvatore Luciano, Kathryn Lybarger, Roberta Lynch, Glenard Middleton, Doug Moore, Henry Nicholas, Laura Reyes, Joseph Rugola, Lee Saunders, Shelley Seeberg, Linda Canan Stephens, Mary Sullivan, Braulio Torres, Dorothy Townsend, Naomi Walker, Jessica Weinstein, Jeanette Wynn—**1,320,328** votes

Steelworkers, United—Gary Beevers, Roxanne Brown, Leo Gerard, Holly Hart, Carol Landry, Robert LaVenture, Connie Mabin, Ken Neumann, Guillermo Perez, Fred Redmond, John Shinn, Maria Somma—**436,323** votes

Teachers, American Federation of—Linda Bridges, Kathy Chavez, Lee Cutler, Kathleen Donahue, David Gray, Judy Hale, David Hecker, Richard Iannuzzi, Lorretta Johnson, Dennis Kelly, Ted Kirsch, Francine (Fran) Lawrence, Dan Montgomery, Michael Mulgrew, Maria Neira, Ruby Newbold, Joshua Pechthalt, Sandra Schroeder, Adam Urbanski, Randi Weingarten—**1,107,642** votes

Transit Union, Amalgamated—Freda Braylock, Antonette Bryant, Paul Harrington, Roland Jeter, James Lindsay, Javier Perez—**119,571** votes

Transport Workers Union of America—Sandra Burleson, Cassandra Gilbert, Harry Lombardo, Gary Maslanka, John Samuelsen—**90,000** votes

Transportation Union, United—John England, Alvy Hughes, Bonnie Morr, John Previsich, Robert Resendez, James Stem—**60,343** votes

Transportation Communications International Union/IAM—Ron Kloos, Cathleen Parker, Joel Parker, Robert Scardelletti, Mark Taylor—**37,202** votes

UNITE HERE—Jo Marie Agriesti, Debbie Anderson, Brigitte Browning, Eric Clinton, Tho Do, D. Taylor, Rachel Torres, Leain Vashon, Donald Wilson—**226,500** votes

Utility Workers Union of America—Gerardo (Jerry) Acosta, Reggie Davis, Michael Langford, Deborah Smith, Steven VanSlooten—**45,319** votes

Writers Guild of America, East, Inc.—Michael Winship—**3,680** votes

TRADE and INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENTS

Building and Construction Trades Department—Sean McGarvey—**1** vote

Department for Professional Employees—Paul Almeida—**1** vote

Maritime Trades Department—Daniel Duncan—**1** vote

Metal Trades Department—Ronald Ault—**1** vote

Transportation Trades Department, AFL-CIO—Ed Wytkind—**1** vote

STATE FEDERATIONS

Alabama AFL-CIO—Al Henley—**1** vote

Alaska State AFL-CIO—Vince Beltrami—**1** vote

Arizona AFL-CIO—Rebekah Friend—**1** vote

Arkansas AFL-CIO—Alan Hughes—**1** vote

California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO—Art Pulaski—**1** vote

Colorado AFL-CIO—Mike Cerbo—**1** vote

Connecticut AFL-CIO—John Olsen—**1** vote

Delaware State AFL-CIO—Sam Lathem—**1** vote

Florida AFL-CIO—Mike Williams—**1** vote

Georgia State AFL-CIO—Charlie Flemming—**1** vote

Hawaii State AFL-CIO—Jason Bradshaw—**1** vote

Idaho State AFL-CIO—Rian Van Leuven—**1** vote

Illinois AFL-CIO—Michael Carrigan—**1** vote

Indiana State AFL-CIO—Nancy Guyott—**1** vote

Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO—Charlie Wishman—**1** vote

Kansas AFL-CIO—Andy Sanchez—**1** vote

Kentucky State AFL-CIO—Bill Londrigan—**1** vote

Maine AFL-CIO—Matt Schlobohm—**1** vote

Maryland State and D.C. AFL-CIO—Fred Mason—**1** vote

Massachusetts AFL-CIO—Steven Tolman—**1** vote

Michigan State AFL-CIO—Karla Swift—**1** vote

Minnesota AFL-CIO—Shar Knutson—**1** vote

Mississippi AFL-CIO—Robert Shaffer—**1** vote

Missouri AFL-CIO—Mary Paden Otto—1 vote
Montana State AFL-CIO—Al Ekblad—1 vote
Nebraska State AFL-CIO—Ken Mass—1 vote
Nevada State AFL-CIO—Dan'l Cook—1 vote
New Hampshire AFL-CIO—Mark MacKenzie—1 vote
New Jersey State AFL-CIO—Charles Wowkanech—1 vote
New Mexico Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO—Jon Hendry—1 vote
New York State AFL-CIO—Mario Cilento—1 vote
North Carolina State AFL-CIO—MaryBe McMillan—1 vote
North Dakota AFL-CIO—Tom Ricker—1 vote
Ohio AFL-CIO—Tim Burga—1 vote
Oklahoma State AFL-CIO—Jimmy Curry—1 vote
Oregon AFL-CIO—Tom Chamberlain—1 vote
Pennsylvania AFL-CIO—Richard Bloomingdale—1 vote
Puerto Rico Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO—José Rodriguez-Baez—1 vote
Rhode Island AFL-CIO—George Nee—1 vote
South Carolina AFL-CIO—Erin McKee—1 vote
South Dakota State Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO—Mark Anderson—1 vote
Tennessee AFL-CIO Labor Council—Gary Moore—1 vote
Texas AFL-CIO—Becky Moeller—1 vote
Utah State AFL-CIO—Dale Cox—1 vote
Vermont State Labor Council, AFL-CIO—Ben Johnson—1 vote
Virginia AFL-CIO—Doris Crouse-Mays—1 vote
Washington State Labor Council, AFL-CIO—Jeff Johnson—1 vote
West Virginia AFL-CIO—Kenny Perdue—1 vote
Wisconsin State AFL-CIO—Phillip Neuenfeldt—1 vote
Wyoming State AFL-CIO—Kim Floyd—1 vote

CENTRAL LABOR BODIES

Alameda, CA—Josie Camacho—1 vote
Allegheny County, PA—Sylvia Wilson—1 vote
Ashtabula County, OH—Davida Russell—1 vote
Atlanta-North Georgia—Dewey McClain—1 vote
Atlantic City and Cape May Counties, NJ—Roy Foster—1 vote
Austin Area, TX—Ann Pannell—1 vote

Baltimore (Metropolitan), MD—Ernie Grecco—1 vote
Bluegrass, KY—Robert Akin—1 vote
Boise Central Trades and Labor Council, IA—Andrea Wassner—1 vote
Boston (Greater), MA—Richard Rogers—1 vote
Bristol (Greater), CT—Janeen Olsen—1 vote
Buffalo, NY—Michael Hoffert—1 vote
Butte and Glenn Counties, CA—Mickey Harrington—1 vote

Capital District, NY—Frank Natalie—1 vote
Central Alabama—Jimmy Thomas—1 vote
Central Arkansas—Jessica Akers—1 vote
Central Georgia—Yvonne Robinson—1 vote
Central Maryland—Donna Edwards—1 vote
Central Massachusetts—Joseph Carlson—1 vote
Central New Mexico—Joel Villareal—1 vote
Central New York—Patrick Costello—1 vote
Central Ohio Area Labor Federation—Debra King Hutchinson—1 vote
Central Oklahoma Labor Federation—Tim O'Connor—1 vote
Central Oregon—Jim Gourley—1 vote
Central Pennsylvania—Carla Insinga—1 vote
Central Utah—Brandon Dew—1 vote
Central Virginia—Richard Hatch—1 vote
Chicago, IL—Jorge Ramirez—1 vote
Cincinnati, OH—Douglas Sizemore—1 vote
Clatsop County, OR—Ken Allen—1 vote
Contra Costa County, CA—John May—1 vote

Dallas County, TX—Mark York—1 vote
Decatur, IL—Carl Draper—1 vote
Denver, CO—Sheila Lieder—1 vote
Detroit (Metropolitan), MI—Christos Michalakis—1 vote

Eastern Maine—Emery Deabay—1 vote
Eastern Panhandle, WV—Grant Crandall—1 vote
Eastern Virginia—Carlton Davenport—1 vote
Elgins, IL—Rick Terven—1 vote

Fairbanks, AK—Mayonka Green—1 vote
Five Counties, CA—Ruth Rhodes—1 vote
Flint (Greater), MI—Lawrence Roehrig—1 vote
Fresno-Madera-Tulare-Kings, CA—Randy Ghan—1 vote

Galveston County, TX—Lee Medley—1 vote
Green Mountain, VT—Traven Leyshon—1 vote

Hall of Fame, OH—Daniel Sciury—1 vote
Harris County, TX—Richard Shaw—1 vote
Hartford (Greater), CT—Clarke King—1 vote
Hudson County, NJ—Peter Busacca—1 vote
Humboldt and Del Norte Counties, CA—John Frahm—1 vote

Illinois Valley, IL—Steven Conrad—1 vote
Iowa City—Patrick Hughes—1 vote

Kent-Ionia, MI—Randy Belliel—1 vote
Kern, Inyo and Mono Counties, CA—Donny Williams—1 vote

Lane County, OH—Bob Baldwin—1 vote
Lewiston, Idaho-Clarkston, Washington—Aaron White—1 vote
Linn-Benton-Lincoln, OR—Lisa Gourley—1 vote
Long Island, NY—John Durso—1 vote
Lorain County, OH—Nellie Caraballo—1 vote
Los Angeles, CA—Maria Elena Durazo—1 vote
Louisville, KY—Kenneth Koch—1 vote

Maricopa, AZ—Paul Castaneda—1 vote
Marion County, WV—F. Banig—1 vote
Marion, Polk and Yamhill Counties, OR—Richard Swyers—1 vote
Martin Luther King Jr., WA—David Freiboth—1 vote
Merced-Mariposa County, CA—Jerry Hunsucker—1 vote
Mercer County, NJ—Michele Liebttag—1 vote
Merrimack Valley, MA—Paul Georges—1 vote
Middlesex County, NJ—Laurel Brennan—1 vote
Minneapolis, MN—Bill McCarthy—1 vote
Missoula Area, MT—Mark Anderlik—1 vote
Monmouth and Ocean Counties, NJ—Wyatt Earp—1 vote
Monterey Bay, CA—Cesar Lara—1 vote

Nashville and Middle Tennessee—Vonda McDaniel—1 vote
New Orleans (Greater), LA—Robert Hammond—1 vote
New York City—Suzy Ballantyne—1 vote
Norfolk County, MA—Robert Bower—1 vote
North Alabama—Timothy Waters—1 vote
North Bay, CA—Lisa Maldonado—1 vote
North Central West Virginia—Sherry Breeden—1 vote
North Coast, OH—Patrick Gallagher—1 vote
North Florida—Charles Spencer—1 vote
North Shore, OH—Harriet Applegate—1 vote
North Shore, MA—Jeffrey Crosby—1 vote
North Valley, CA—Timothy Robertson—1 vote
Northeast Alabama—Darrell Riley—1 vote
Northeast Ohio—George Tucker—1 vote
Northeastern Illinois—Patrick Statter—1 vote
Northeastern Oklahoma—Dennis Hall—1 vote
Northern Nevada—John Stevens—1 vote
Northern New Mexico—Jerald Rule—1 vote
Northern Valley, ND—Mark Froemke—1 vote
Northwest Oregon—Bob Tackett—1 vote

Orange County, CA—Tefere Gebre—1 vote

Passaic County, FL—Juan Negron—1 vote

Pennyrile Area, KY—Brad Burton—1 vote

Philadelphia, PA—Patrick Eiding—1 vote

Pierce County, WA—Patty Rose—1 vote

Pima Area, AZ—Linda Hatfield—1 vote

Pioneer Valley, MA—Steve Dondley—1 vote

Providence, RI—Donald Iannazzi—1 vote

River Region, AL—John Whitaker—1 vote

Sabine Area, TX—Sylvia McDuffie—1 vote

Sacramento, CA—Bill Camp—1 vote

San Antonio, TX—Katherine Thompson-Garcia—1 vote

San Diego-Imperial Counties, CA—Richard Barrera—1 vote

San Francisco, CA—Tim Paulson—1 vote

San Joaquin & Calaveras Counties, CA—Catherine Houston—1 vote

San Mateo, CA—Julie Lind—1 vote

Savannah, GA—Brett Hulme—1 vote

Sioux Falls, SD—James Larson—1 vote

Smith County, TX—John Patrick—1 vote

Snohomish, WA—Darrell Chapman—1 vote

South Bay, CA—Ben Field—1 vote

South Central, WI—Kevin Gundlach—1 vote

South Central, WV—Teddy Hapney—1 vote

South Central Iowa—Mark Cooper—1 vote

South Central Michigan—Richard Frantz—1 vote

South Florida—Andy Madtes—1 vote

Southeast Minnesota—Laura Askelin—1 vote

Southeastern Massachusetts (Greater)—Louis Mandarinini—1 vote

Southeastern North Carolina—Jason Rosin—1 vote

Southeastern Ohio—Ted Linscott—1 vote

Southeastern Oregon—Barbara Byrd—1 vote

Southeastern Washington—Mari Wyatt—1 vote

Southern Colorado—Rudy Ortiz—1 vote

Southern Illinois—Timothy Drea—1 vote

Southern Nevada—Debra Berko—1 vote

Southern Piedmont, NC—Charlie Hines—1 vote

Southwest Washington—Herb Krohn—1 vote

Southwestern New Mexico—Richard Espinosa—1 vote

Spokane, WA—Steve Warren—1 vote

Springfield and Central Illinois—Terry Reed—1 vote

St. Paul, MN—Robert Kasper—1 vote

Stanislaus and Tuolumne Counties, CA—Astrid Zuniga—1 vote

Thurston-Lewis-Mason, WA—Lynne Dodson—1 vote
Topeka, KS—James Grunewald—1 vote
Triangle, NC—Larry Sorrells—1 vote
Tri-Counties, CA—Marilyn Valenzuela—1 vote
Tri-County Council of Labor, KY—Phil Smith—1 vote
Tri-County, KS—Roger Beach—1 vote
Troy, NY—Herb Hennings—1 vote

Volusia/Flagler, FL—Stacy Stepanovich—1 vote

Washington (Metropolitan), DC—Joslyn Williams—1 vote
Washington/Greene County, PA—Ed Yankovich—1 vote
West Alabama—Daryl Dewberry—1 vote
West Central Florida—Cheryl Schroeder—1 vote
West Central Illinois—Nan Gardner—1 vote
West Minnesota—Dale Moerke—1 vote
Western Colorado—Travis Lancaster—1 vote
Western Connecticut—Richard Golembiewski—1 vote
Western Kentucky—Jerry Stallard—1 vote
Western Maryland—Denise Riley—1 vote
Western New York—Patty DeVinney—1 vote
Western North Carolina—Andrew Oyaas—1 vote
Western Trades and Labor Assembly, IL—Bert Miller Jr.—1 vote
Western Virginia—James Gibbs—1 vote
Western Wisconsin—Bill Brockmiller—1 vote
Wichita/Hutchinson, KS—Judy Pierce—1 vote
Wilkes-Barre, PA—Herman Matthews—1 vote

York-Adams, PA—Frank Snyder—1 vote

DIRECTLY AFFILIATED LOCAL UNIONS

DALU No. 20711 Advertising Publicity & Newspaper—Ed Finkelstein—7 votes
Montana Public Employees Association—Quinton Nyman—7,188 votes

TRUMKA: And now, brothers and sisters, on to the rules.

Copies of the proposed Convention Standing Rules that the Rules Committee recommends have been given to you and are also available at aflcio2013.org, so everyone should have access to them.

If not, please raise your hand right now and floor operations staff will provide you with a copy of the Rules Committee report.

I now call on Sister Diann Woodard of the School Administrators for the report of the Rules Committee.

Sister Woodard.

REPORT OF THE RULES COMMITTEE

VICE PRESIDENT DIANN WOODARD, School Administrators: Thank you, Mr.

Chairman. Good afternoon, brothers and sisters. Let me first acknowledge and thank the members of the Rules Committee, my vice chair, Mike Goodwin and members Mike Carrigan, Roy Flores, John Hegarty, Lorretta Johnson, Newton Jones, Jim Little, Bob Scardelletti and Karen See. (*Applause*)

Yes, you can clap. (*Applause*)

The committee met in July and again yesterday to consider rules for this Convention. Article IV, Section 19 of the Constitution provides that the rules of one Convention are also enforced from the beginning of the next Convention until that Convention adopts new rules.

In reviewing the rules of the last Convention, the committee determined that some clarifications are warranted. In other respects, the rules must be revised in order to more accurately and completely reflect the Constitution and past practice.

There are several proposed substantive revisions of the 2009 rules.

First, Rule 15 clarifies how a Convention committee is to handle a resolution that the Executive Council refers to it for its review and recommendation to the convention.

Second, Rule 19 recognizes that the Executive Council has the authority to propose resolutions to the Convention at any time. This reflects a constitutional provision and it belongs in the rules as well.

Third, Rules 5, 6 and 20 explain in some detail how materials may be submitted for distribution in the Convention hall, including materials that relate to the election of officers.

Rule 20 also describes how delegates may convey their support or opposition regarding candidates for AFL-CIO office in the hall on different days of the Convention.

Otherwise, the nomination and election rules, which include Rules 20 through 47, are essentially the same as they were in 2009.

President Trumka has appointed as the Convention Election Officer Jimmy Williams, the former president of the International Union of Painters and Allied Trades, and a former AFL-CIO vice president, who has been a strong and independent voice for the labor movement for many years. He will oversee any election that is conducted, and he will report to the convention as necessary.

Finally, let me summarize some of the key points of Rules 1 through 19, which govern all other Convention proceedings.

First, any delegate who seeks recognition to speak on any matter shall speak only upon recognition by the chair, and the delegate shall first state his or her name and delegation.

Second, a delegate may speak no more than three minutes on a pending question.

Third, total debate on a main motion, whether on a resolution or other matter, shall be limited to 30 minutes. That period includes all debate on all proposed amendments to that main motion as well as any other secondary motions to the main motion.

Fourth, when a Convention committee presents a resolution, including a constitutional amendment for a vote, the question presented shall be whether or not to approve the resolution regardless of whether the committee recommends its approval or rejection.

Finally, the following method of voting will be used in the following order as may be necessary on a particular question: First, a voice vote; second, an uncounted rising vote; third, a counted rising vote; and finally, a roll call vote if 30% of the delegates present request one.

So, on behalf of the Rules Committee, I move the adoption of the Convention Standing Rules.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. And I thank the Rules Committee for all their hard work.

It has been moved and seconded to adopt the Convention Standing Rules. Is there any discussion?

Seeing none, the question is on adoption of the Convention Standing Rules.

Those in favor of adopting the Convention Standing Rules, say aye. Those opposed, no.

The Convention Standing Rules are hereby adopted. Thank you.

(Following are the general rules of the convention and the rules governing the nomination and election of officers as approved by the delegates.)

CONVENTION STANDING RULES

General

1. After the Convention has been called to order on the first day, the Convention Chair shall set the time for adjournment and for reconvening, provided that no recess or adjournment shall be ordered once a roll call vote has begun.
2. Except as otherwise provided in the AFL-CIO Constitution, these rules or supplemental rules, the Convention shall be conducted in accordance with Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised (11th edition). The Convention Chair shall appoint a parliamentarian to advise the Chair. Rulings of the Chair may be appealed in accordance with Robert's Rules to the Convention.
3. The agenda for the Convention shall be as follows:
 - Credentials Committee Report
 - Rules Committee Report
 - Constitution Committee Report
 - Nominations and Elections for Office
 - Other business, including reports of other committees, shall be taken up from time to time as appropriate
4. For admission to the convention hall, a delegate, alternate delegate, affiliate guest, Convention Program Committee member, constituency group member, solidarity partner, guest or other authorized individual shall wear the badges or other identification issued by the Credentials Committee or the AFL-CIO Convention Office.

5. Materials may be distributed outside the Convention hall.
6. Materials on a subject other than the election of AFL-CIO officers that a delegate seeks to be distributed inside the Convention hall must be submitted to the AFL-CIO Convention Office in advance with a request for distribution. If the Convention Office approves, the Convention Office will determine whether the Convention staff or the requesting delegate will distribute the materials.
7. Any delegate seeking recognition to speak on any matter shall state his or her name and delegation and shall speak on the matter only upon recognition by the Convention Chair.
8. The Convention Chair at his or her discretion may recognize a guest for the purpose of speaking on any matter before the Convention.
9. Smoking and consumption of alcohol on the Convention floor are prohibited.

Debate

10. Debate shall proceed as follows:
 - (a) Total time on all main motions (including resolutions) and pending secondary motions (including amendments) shall be limited to 30 minutes.
 - (b) No delegate shall speak for more than three minutes on any pending question. A delegate may not speak a second time upon the same question until all delegates wishing to speak on that question have had an opportunity to do so.
 - (c) If the Convention Chair deems it necessary, separate microphones shall be set up for those supporting and opposing the matter before the Convention, and the Chair shall recognize alternating speakers on the two sides unless there are not speakers seeking recognition on both sides.
 - (d) If a delegate is called to order while speaking, the delegate shall be seated until the question of order is decided.
 - (e) A member of a Convention Program Committee who is not a delegate shall be entitled to participate in debate on a resolution that originates from such committee in the same manner as a delegate, but he or she shall not be entitled to vote on such resolution or any other matter before the Convention.
11. When a question is to be decided, whether by a majority or two-thirds of delegates present and voting, the Convention Chair first shall conduct a voice vote, and, at the Chair's discretion in doing so, the Chair may remind delegates and others on the Convention floor that only delegates are eligible to participate in the vote. If in the view of the Chair (whether or not any delegate calls for a division) the voice vote is inconclusive, the Chair shall retake the vote by an uncounted rising vote. If in the view of the Chair this vote also is inconclusive, or if the Convention so directs upon proper motion and vote, the floor shall be cleared of all but regular delegates and the Chair shall retake the vote by a counted rising vote. At any time after the conduct of the voice vote and

before the Convention proceeds to the next order of business, a roll call may be conducted upon the demand of 30% of the delegates present.

12. Roll call votes shall proceed as follows:

- (a) The Convention Chair (or his or her designee) shall conduct the roll call vote. In calling the roll, the Chair first shall call upon the delegation chair of each national and international union, in order of the AFL-CIO's standard alphabetical listing of affiliated unions. Upon being called, the delegation chair (or his or her designee) shall cast the union's vote entitlement either as a bloc or as the delegation allocates it. National and international union delegates who do not answer to their names shall not be permitted to vote at a later point in the roll call.
- (b) If, after calling the roll of the national and international unions, a majority of the total vote entitlement of all registered delegates is obtained in favor of or against the question (or, where a two-thirds vote is required, two-thirds of that vote entitlement is cast in favor or more than one-third is cast opposed), the Convention Chair shall discontinue the calling of the roll and shall announce the result. Any delegate entitled to vote who has not been called shall be given the opportunity to record his or her vote with a recording secretary designated by the Chair, and the final official tally will reflect all such recorded votes.

13. The Convention Chair may at any time temporarily suspend debate (but not a vote) on a pending matter to allow an invited guest to speak. Upon conclusion of the speech, debate shall resume on the business that was pending when the debate was interrupted.

Resolutions, Constitutional Amendments, Appeals, Reports, Petitions and Memorials

14. In addressing resolutions, constitutional amendments, appeals, reports, petitions and memorials (together, for purposes of these Rules, "resolutions") that have been referred to the committee by the AFL-CIO President but have not been approved by the Executive Council, a committee:

- (a) May report out resolutions for separate recommended action on each by the Convention, including but not limited to adoption, rejection, referral or no action, and in doing so may amend a resolution only upon the request or approval of its sponsor;
- (b) May report out a group of resolutions for recommended action as a bloc if at least 75% of the committee members agree (the Convention Chair will briefly state the subject of each resolution and take the vote on the grouped resolutions as a bloc);
- (c) May report out one of several resolutions on the same subject, with a statement that other identified resolutions are subsumed in the reported resolution, and that on recommended adoption or rejection of the reported resolution no further action will be taken on the subsumed resolutions

(if there is a committee minority report, supported by at least 25% of committee members, that is in favor of one or more subsumed resolutions *and* the Convention *rejects* the committee's resolution, then the Convention will next take up that minority report);

(d) May refer a resolution to the Executive Council; and

(e) May decline to report out a resolution for action by the Convention if at least 75% of the committee members agree.

15. In addressing resolutions that the Executive Council has approved and referred to the committee, the committee:

(a) Must report out the resolutions to the Convention;

(b) Shall treat such a resolution as the lead resolution and subsume others on the same subject in accordance with Rule 14(c) above; and

(c) May make minor changes to such a resolution in order to reconcile it with other resolutions on the same subject, or in order to more properly subsume other resolutions to it in accordance with Rule 14(c) above, in which case it shall explain such changes in its report to the Convention.

16. On committee reports concerning action on a resolution, the question shall be stated to the Convention as being on the resolution itself.

17. When any such committee report is accompanied by a minority report supported by at least 25% of the committee members, a member of the committee minority shall be recognized by the Convention Chair immediately after the report of the committee has been given.

18. The Executive Council shall refer to the Convention all resolutions and constitutional amendments that are untimely submitted under Article IV, Section 11(b) of the Constitution, and the Convention shall consider any such resolution or constitutional amendment only upon the unanimous consent of the delegates.

19. The Executive Council may present any resolution or constitutional amendment at any time to either a committee for its consideration and action, or to the Convention for its consideration and action, without requiring the consent of the delegates to do so.

Nomination and Election of Candidates for Office

20. Delegates may wear buttons, hats, stickers, T-shirts, jackets and other personal articles relating to the election of AFL-CIO officers inside the Convention hall. Materials relating to the election other than campaign signs, banners, signaling devices and similar items that a delegate seeks to distribute inside the Convention hall must be submitted to the AFL-CIO Election Officer in advance with a request for distribution. If the Election Officer approves the request, only delegates may distribute the materials inside the hall. On the day of nominations, delegates may display and use campaign signs, banners, signaling devices and similar items inside the Convention hall.

21. The nomination of candidates for office shall take place on the Convention's third day.
22. The AFL-CIO senior Vice President who does not intend to nominate or second the nomination of an Executive Officer shall assume the chair for the nominations of the Executive Officers. The Convention Chair (or his or her designee) shall resume the chair for the nominations of the Vice Presidents.
23. To be eligible to be nominated, an individual must, at the time of nomination, be a member of an organization affiliated with the AFL-CIO.
24. Any delegate or Executive Council member may nominate or second the nomination of a candidate for office.
25. Nominations shall first be made for the office of President. When nominations for that office are closed, nominations shall be made for the office of Secretary-Treasurer. When nominations for that office are closed, nominations shall be made for the office of Executive Vice President. When nominations for that office are closed, nominations shall be made for the offices of Vice President.
26. A delegate or Executive Council member who nominates an individual for an Executive Office shall speak for no more than five minutes in support of the nomination. There shall be two seconders for such a nomination, and each seconder shall speak for no more than three minutes.
27. A delegate or Executive Council member who makes nominations for the offices of Vice President may make any number of nominations up to the number of Vice Presidents under the Constitution. Nominations for the offices of Vice President may be made with a slate designation (subject to the nominees' subsequent confirmation to the Election Officer of their slate status). A nominator may make nominations by a signed writing that includes two signed seconds by delegates or Executive Council members and that is submitted to the Convention Chair after the Convention is called to order on the first day and before the opening of the Convention's third day. The Chair (or designee) will read the names of such nominees and identify their nominators and seconders at the beginning of the nominations for the offices of Vice President. A nominator may also make nominations for the offices of Vice President from the floor after the reading of any such previously submitted nominations. Any such floor nomination must be seconded by two delegates or Executive Council members. There shall be no speeches for any nominations for the offices of Vice President.
28. If there is only one nominee for any Executive Office the nominee shall be declared elected and there shall be no election conducted for that office. If the number of nominees for the offices of Vice President does not exceed the

number of Vice Presidents to be elected, the nominees shall be declared elected and there shall be no election conducted for those offices.

29. The President, in consultation with the Executive Council and subject to the approval of the Convention, shall appoint a former AFL-CIO Vice President, a present AFL-CIO Vice President not standing for re-election or another appropriate individual as the Election Officer charged with conducting the election of the Executive Officers and Vice Presidents.
30. The AFL-CIO shall furnish the Election Officer with such personnel and office support as the Election Officer requires to conduct the election.
31. Nominees may run as a slate for the Executive Offices or for the offices of Vice President, and shall notify the Election Officer in writing on the day of their nomination of their intention of doing so. Any slate for the offices of Vice President shall devote no less than 15 positions to carrying out the commitment to an Executive Council that is broadly representative of the diversity of the membership of the labor movement, as set forth in Article VI, Section 1(f) of the Constitution.
32. (a) The Election Officer shall prepare one ballot listing the nominees for the Executive Offices. The order of listing of nominees for each office shall be determined by a drawing by lot conducted by the Election Officer, which any nominee or his or her designee may attend. If nominees are part of a slate, the ballot shall designate their status as a slate.
(b) The Election Officer shall prepare a separate ballot listing the nominees for Vice President and their union affiliations. Nominees for Vice President shall be listed in the order in which they were nominated. Nominees who are part of a slate shall be listed together in alphabetical order within the slate, and the ballot shall designate their status as a slate and provide a means for delegates to cast a single vote for the slate.
(c) Each ballot shall state the name of the delegate casting the ballot, the name of the organization the delegate represents and the ballot's vote entitlement, and shall provide a space for the delegate to sign the ballot.
33. The election shall take place on the fourth day of the Convention. The polls shall open at 7 a.m. and close at 8:30 a.m. Any delegate in line at the registration area at 8:30 a.m. shall be permitted to vote.
34. Each slate of nominees for Executive Offices, and each nominee for Executive Office who does not belong to a slate, may designate an observer from among the delegates. Each slate of candidates for Vice President, and each candidate for Vice President who does not belong to a slate, also may designate an observer from among the delegates. Observers shall be designated through an election form prepared by the Election Officer, which shall be filed in the time and manner that the Election Officer determines.

35. The Election Officer shall arrange an election area in, or proximate to, the Convention hall that is open to general view and suitable for the orderly casting of ballots. The election area shall be divided into an appropriate registration area, an appropriate voting area and an appropriate observer area. The Election Officer shall post in the registration area a list of all delegates, by organization, who are entitled to vote. The voting area shall be open to delegates only during the time they are voting, and otherwise shall be open only to the Election Officer and his or her staff.
36. Each delegate first shall register to vote at the appropriate registration desk by providing proper identification and by signing his or her name on the registration list prepared by the Election Officer. At the time of registration, but not otherwise, an observer may challenge the right of an individual seeking to vote. The challenged individual shall be given a ballot marked "challenged," which shall be segregated from all non-challenged ballots.
37. Upon registering, the chair of the delegation of each national and international union voting by bloc shall be given and instructed to sign a certification, prepared by the Election Officer, that the chair has been authorized to cast the union's vote by bloc, and shall be given and instructed to sign an Executive Officers ballot and/or a Vice Presidents ballot stating the chair's name, the union's name and the union's vote entitlement as determined by the approved report of the Credentials Committee. For the purposes of these rules, the delegation chair shall be the president of the union, unless the president designates an alternative chair from among the union's delegates and so notifies the Election Officer.
38. No delegate who is not the chair of his or her delegation shall be given a ballot unless and until the delegation chair notifies the Election Officer that the delegation will not be voting by bloc. Otherwise, upon registering, delegates from national and international unions voting individually shall be given and instructed to sign an Executive Officers ballot and/or a Vice Presidents ballot stating the delegate's name, the union's name and the delegate's proportionate share of the union's vote entitlement, determined by dividing the union's vote entitlement, as set forth in the approved report of the Credentials Committee, by the total number of delegates from the union included on the posted voting list.
39. Upon registering, delegates from directly affiliated local unions shall be given and instructed to sign an Executive Officers ballot and/or a Vice Presidents ballot stating the delegate's name, the local union's name and the local union's vote entitlement as determined by the approved report of the Credentials Committee.
40. Upon registering, delegates from trade and industrial departments and state, area and local central bodies shall be given and instructed to sign an Executive Officers ballot and/or a Vice Presidents ballot stating the delegate's name, the organization's name and the vote entitlement of one vote.

41. Delegates shall cast their ballots in the voting area in such manner as the Election Officer designates.
42. Each Ballot for the office of Vice President must be cast for a number of nominees equal to the number of positions elected, and must cast the full voting strength of the delegate or affiliate voting.
43. Immediately upon the conclusion of the balloting, the Election Officer shall count the ballots in the voting area, which shall be reconfigured as necessary for the counting of the ballots. The Election Officer shall first tally and record the votes for the Executive Officers, and then shall tally and record the votes for the Vice Presidents, using tally sheets prepared for that purpose. In tallying the ballots of national and international union delegates voting individually rather than by bloc, the union's full vote entitlement shall be allocated pro rata in the event that one or more of the union's credentialed and registered delegates does not vote. Any such ballots shall be initialed by the Election Officer after the proper allocated vote entitlement is marked on the ballot. The Election Officer shall, in the course of the tally, rule on all challenges and include or exclude the challenged votes, as appropriate.
44. In the event that a runoff election is required under Article VI, Section 1(e) of the Constitution, the Election Officer shall conduct that election as promptly as possible, following the procedures set forth above and using the same eligibility lists as were used for the first election.
45. At the conclusion of the election, the Election Officer shall present a report to the Convention stating the results of the election and the Election Officer's actions and rulings in conducting the election. The election shall be final on the presentation and acceptance of that report by the Convention.
46. All of the Election Officer's actions and rulings in conducting the election shall be effective immediately and shall be open to challenge only through objection to the Election Officer's report to the Convention.
47. The Election Officer shall have the authority to vary the time limits stated in these rules by a written posted ruling.

TRUMKA: I mentioned earlier the great work of our convention program and governance committees. According to Article IV, Section 10 of the AFL-CIO Constitution, I need to get a motion from the convention to approve the appointment of those committees.

May I get a motion to that effect?

...The motion was made and seconded by several unidentified delegates.

TRUMKA: It's been moved and seconded to approve the appointment of the Convention Committees. Is there any discussion?

Seeing none, the question is on approving the appointment of the convention committees.

Those in favor, say aye. Those opposed, nay.

The appointment of the convention committees is approved and I want to thank you for that.

And I want to thank you, Sister Diann Woodard, and the Rules Committee.

We are ready to go. Next thing.

Now, I would like to call on Secretary-Treasurer Liz Shuler and Executive Vice President Arlene Holt Baker to introduce the delegates and the guests that are here with us today.

INTRODUCTION OF UNIONS, UNION PRESIDENTS and EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

SECRETARY-TREASURER ELIZABETH H. SHULER: Thank you. And welcome again everyone. This is the time in our Convention when we take a few minutes to look around the room and recognize who we are.

We are first responders, bus drivers, roofers and, yes, rocket scientists, teachers, secretaries and sanitation workers, home care aides and electricians—you knew I would mention electricians, didn't you?

We build bridges and cars, fly planes and write TV shows. We are women and men, all races, all faiths, all ages, all sexual orientations. We are America.

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT ARLENE HOLT BAKER: Sisters and brothers, look around you and you should feel so proud. We come from 50 states and we speak for millions of working people. Together, we make America happen. *(Applause)*

SHULER: And today we have with us 120 brothers and sisters from the global labor movement who are with us from nearly 50 different countries and international organizations. Will our international guests please stand so you can be welcomed.

We hear you. We see you. *(Applause)*

And now, this is the fun part. Let's introduce the unions of the AFL-CIO, their presidents and our Executive Council members. So, please, stand up for your union as it's introduced. And it's in alphabetical order, so you can anticipate.

We first have Actors' Equity, with President Nick Wyman. *(Applause)*

AFGE, including National President J. David Cox and 10th District National Vice President Roy Flores. *(Applause)*

We have AFSCME with President Lee Saunders and Secretary-Treasurer Laura Reyes. *(Applause)*

We have AFT, with President Randi Weingarten and Secretary-Treasurer Lorretta Johnson. *(Applause)*

The Air Line Pilots with your president, Captain Lee Moak. *(Applause)*

Amalgamated Transit Union. International President Lawrence Hanley couldn't be with us today and we wish him well. But you're here.

HOLT BAKER: We have the American Federation of Musicians with President Ray Hair. *(Applause)*

The Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers, with International President David Durkee. *(Applause)*

And the Boilermakers, with International President Newton Jones. *(Applause)*

The Bricklayers, with President James Boland. *(Applause)*

And welcome Sean McGarvey, president of the Building and Construction Trades Department. *(Applause)*

The California School Employees Association, with Association President Michael Bilbrey and former president, Clyde Rivers. *(Applause)*

Communications Workers of America, with President Larry Cohen, and AFA-CWA, Electronic Workers-CWA with James D. Clark, division president. NABET-CWA, The Newspaper Guild-CWA, and the Printing, Publishing and Media Workers-CWA. *(Applause)*

SHULER: And we have my union, the Electrical Workers, with International President Edwin D. Hill. Woop, woop. *(Applause)*

The Elevator Constructors, with General President Frank Christensen. *(Applause)*

Farm Labor Organizing Committee, with President Baldemar Velásquez. *(Applause)*

And the Fire Fighters, with General President Harold Schaitberger. *(Applause)*

Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers, with President Bruce Smith. *(Applause)*

Heat and Frost Insulators, with General President James Grogan. *(Applause)*

And let's welcome IATSE, with President Matthew Loeb. *(Applause)*

HOLT BAKER: And welcome to the International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers, with Greg Junemann. *(Applause)*

The International Union of Police Associations, with International President Sam Cabral. *(Applause)*

The Iron Workers, with General President Walter Wise. *(Applause)*

Executive Secretary-Treasurer María Elena Durazo of the Los Angeles County AFL-CIO. *(Applause)*

And the Letter Carriers, with President Fredric Rolando. *(Applause)*

The Laborers, with General President Terry O'Sullivan. *(Applause)*

As Cecil has told the convention, this is the first time that we've had the Laborers back with us since 2005, and we are so happy the Laborers are back in the house.

SHULER: Hello to the Longshoremen, with President Harold Daggett. *(Applause)*

The Machinists, with International President Tom Buffenbarger and TCU/IAM President Robert Scardelletti. *(Applause)*

The Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association and President Mike Jewell. *(Applause)*

And the United Mine Workers of America, with President Cecil Roberts. Right in front. *(Applause)*

National Air Traffic Controllers Association, with President Paul Rinaldi. *(Applause)*
National Nurses United, Rose Ann DeMoro. *(Applause)*
NFL Players Association with Executive Director DeMaurice Smith. *(Applause)*
National Postal Mail Handlers Union, with National President John Hegarty. *(Applause)*

HOLT BAKER: And welcome to the National Taxi Workers Alliance, with President Bhairavi Desai. *(Applause)*

North Carolina State AFL-CIO President James Andrews. *(Applause)*

The Novelty and Production Workers, with President Mark Spano. *(Applause)*

The Office and Professional Employees, with President Michael Goodwin and Nancy Wohlforth. *(Applause)*

The Operating Engineers, with General President James Callahan. *(Applause)*

And welcome, Painters and Allied Trades with President Ken Rigmaiden, along with recently retired President James Williams. *(Applause)*

The Plasterers and Cement Masons, with General President Patrick Finley. *(Applause)*

SHULER: Plumbers and Pipe Fitters, with General President William Hite. *(Applause)*

Postal Workers, with President Cliff Guffey and Bill Lucy. *(Applause)*

The Railroad Signalmen, with President Dan Pickett. *(Applause)*

And SAG-AFTRA, with President Ken Howard and founding Co-President Roberta Reardon. *(Applause)*

Welcome School Administrators, with Diann Woodard. *(Applause)*

And we have Seafarers, with President Mike Sacco. *(Applause)*

HOLT BAKER: SMART, the Sheet Metal, Air, Rail and Transportation Workers, with General President Joe Nigro—and the United Transportation Workers. *(Applause)*

The UAW, with President Bob King and Vice President General Holiefield. *(Applause)*

UNITE HERE, with President D. Taylor. *(Applause)*

The United Steelworkers, with President Leo Gerard and Vice President of Human Affairs Fred Redmond. *(Applause)*

SHULER: The United Union of Roofers and Waterproofers, with International President Kinsey Robinson. *(Applause)*

Utility Workers, with National President Michael Langford. *(Applause)*

Working America with Executive Director Karen Nussbaum. *(Applause)*

And finally—but certainly not the last word—the Writers Guild of America, East, with President Michael Winship. *(Applause)*

Welcome to you all, brothers and sisters. *(Applause)*

As good as we want to think we are up here, did we miss anyone, because that's always the worst? So stand up, don't be shy, if we missed you for some reason.

All right. Are we good? All right.

HOLT BAKER: Also with us today are representatives of our state federations and central labor councils. This is our grassroots power. It's the heart of our movement. Welcome. *(Applause)*

And we are so proud and fortunate to have with us today many of our community partners. First, I have to thank the partners who have served on our three convention committees. We owe you a special thanks.

We also have so many allies here, civil and human rights groups, women's organizations, immigrant rights organizations, funders, think tanks, worker centers, faith-based groups, student organizations, university programs, democracy and voting rights groups, environmental partners, digital activists and veterans' groups.

Welcome to you all. We are one. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Liz. Thank you, Arlene. And thank you, and welcome to all of you.

I've got to tell you, there are two more special recognitions that I would really like to make. The first is a man who's meant so much to me personally. He's a man whose pure devotion to this labor movement has been an inspiration to me and so many others. For more than five decades he's put his heart and he's put his soul into improving the lives of working people in the United States and around the world, and for 14 of those years, he led the AFL-CIO. Take a look at this brief video of the man that I'm talking about.

...A video presentation honoring President Emeritus John Sweeney was presented to the delegation. (Applause)

TRUMKA: Of course, brothers and sisters, please join me in recognizing President Emeritus John Sweeney. *(Standing ovation)*

My second special welcome goes to our longtime friends and our newest affiliates as of September 1st, the United Food and Commercial Workers. *(Applause)*

I got to tell you, we are thrilled to have you here with us. Really are. Thank you, back there. Joe Hansen and leaders from the UFCW, please come on up and join me. Come on up. Come on up and join me. *(Applause)*

Now many of our delegates here have been working together with the UFCW colleagues at the state and at the local levels all along. And, quite frankly, Joe and I have been working together and standing together for a long, long time, too, on issues especially like immigration reform and health care. We've done a lot of good work together, and I know that we're going to do a whole lot more together. It's as simple as this: We are stronger together.

Please join me in welcoming our brother, Joe Hansen.

Joe. *(Standing ovation)*

JOSEPH T. HANSEN

President, United Food and Commercial Workers

Thank you. Thank you very much. I want to thank President Rich Trumka, Secretary-Treasurer Shuler and Executive Vice President Holt Baker.

Cecil, you're right. We're home. You said it right. *(Applause)*

I want to thank all of you for welcoming us into the AFL-CIO—the UFCW goal—back into the AFL-CIO. As President Trumka saw at our convention just a few short weeks ago, the UFCW is clear. We believe in labor unity. We know labor cannot be

a collection of individual unions. We must be one movement, strong, united and steadfast. I know, and all of the UFCW knows, we are only powerful when we are together.

TRUMKA: Hear, hear! *(Applause)*

HANSEN: The attack to collective bargaining in 2010 in state legislatures brought the labor movement together. It did not matter whether we were public sector, building trades or private sector. Unity was not optional, it was imperative.

Sisters and brothers, we need that same solidarity today and every day. Not just to defend against attacks but to innovate, to strategize and to grow our movement. We also know that labor unions cannot do this alone. We are excited about the inclusion focus of this convention and of the direction of the AFL-CIO in their plans for the future.

But our solidarity did not just start today. I've seen firsthand Rich Trumka fight like hell to fix the ACA and to protect our members' health care. Rich and I have also been working side by side to make comprehensive immigration reform a reality in this country. *(Applause)*

We are glad to have Rich on our side, we are glad to have the entire AFL-CIO on our side. I, and all of the UFCW, are ready to stand with Rich, to stand with you, to follow his leadership and the entire AFL-CIO to take on all the fights, all struggles and all the campaigns that we have to do together to make our movement stronger and to make our country a better place, not only for our members but for all our citizens.

Sisters and brothers and Rich and the leadership, thank you so much. We are glad to be here and we are going to go forward together with all of you, today. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Let's hear it again for the United Food and Commercial Workers. *(Applause)*
Looks good.

Now, we had expected to have Senator Warren with us tomorrow, and then world events and the Senate schedule intervened. But she is a senator who doesn't know the meaning of the word "can't," and she shows what a great friend she is by joining us today. *(Applause)*

Brothers and sisters, Senator Elizabeth Warren is taking the redeye home tonight for us. Now, it's impossible to talk about Elizabeth Warren, the senator, without talking about her as a person.

I want to say how much I admire her, how much I respect her, how much true respect I have for her personally. Senator Warren is persistent, she's an activist, and she's always looking for a way forward, whatever the odds.

Now when the hard-line Republican Senate minority stonewalled her nomination to head the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau—well, quite frankly, it just flatly refused to consider her—she didn't hear the word "can't." See, she went back home to Massachusetts and fought her way into that Senate. That's what I've got to tell you, that's what I love about this woman.

She's a fighter, she's an activist. Brothers and sisters, please welcome a United States senator who stands up to the billion-dollar corporations and Wall Street and the lobbyists on behalf of working people; who plows new ground in leading for the middle class; who leads with as much integrity and grit as the good people that she represents when working people deserve a fair shake; and who fought tooth and nail to create the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau.

Brothers and sisters, please welcome an honest-to-God champion, the real deal. Please welcome Senator Elizabeth Warren. *(Standing ovation)*

HONORABLE ELIZABETH WARREN

(D) Massachusetts, U.S. Senate

Thank you. Thank you. It is great to be able to be here with you, even if it is for too short a time. As Rich said, I was just in Washington for classified briefings on Syria; I'm headed right back to participate in the Senate debate and the vote on military intervention. But it was very important to me to be here with you today, so thank you for inviting me and thank you for making this possible. Thank you. *(Applause)*

Thank you.

I also want to say to Rich Trumka, to my old friend, Damon Silvers, to Steve Tolman, to Lou Mandarin, to all my friends from Massachusetts, to all of you who are here today: thank you for your hard work and, most of all, thank you for your friendship. I wouldn't be here today as the senior senator from Massachusetts without your extraordinary support. So thank you. Thank you. *(Applause)*

I also want to give a special shout out to the Operating Engineers, my brother's union. Way to go guys! *(Applause)*

I'd just like to point out, my brother has a pension today because of your hard work. So thank you. That's what it means to be part of a union. *(Applause)*

You know, I love being here with labor. It reminds me of a family reunion: lots of roughhousing, occasional arguments, plenty of food. But ultimately, in a family, we know we've got each other's backs.

There's another reason I love being here with labor. When I'm here, I know I'm with people who stand up for working families across this country. It's true. *(Applause)*

Here's the problem. When important decisions are being made in Washington, too often working families are ignored. From tax policy to retirement security, the voices of hard-working people get drowned out by powerful industries and well-financed front groups. Those with power fight to take care of themselves and to feed at the trough, even when it comes at the expense of giving working families a fair shot at a better future.

This isn't new. Throughout our history, powerful interests have tried to capture Washington and rig the system in their favor. But we didn't roll over. At every turn in every time of challenge, organized labor has been there, fighting on behalf of the American people. That's what we do. *(Applause)*

Now, at the beginning of the 20th century when factories were death traps, when owners exploited workers and children, when robber barons amassed the kind of power and influence that made them think they were modern-day kings,

the American people came together under the leadership of progressives to bring our nation back from the brink, and labor was there leading the way. That's right. *(Applause)*

Labor was on the front lines to take children out of factories and put them in schools. Labor was there to give meaning to the words "consumer protection" by making our food and medicine safe. Labor was there to fight for minimum wages in states across this country. Powerful interests did everything they could to block reform. But our agenda was America's agenda, and we prevailed. *(Applause)*

A generation later, when our country was mired in a Great Depression, when people were on bread lines and looking for work, we fought back. We created jobs by investing in infrastructure and public works, we brought light and power to the poorest and most remote areas, we established federal laws on wages and hours and we enshrined into law the right to organize. Yes. *(Applause)*

We made banking boring and put real cops on the beat on Wall Street. And because we believed those in old age should not be mired in poverty, we created Social Security. *(Applause)*

All along that journey, labor was there leading the way. And once again, the powerful interests did everything they could to stop it. But our agenda was America's agenda, and we prevailed. *(Applause)*

When political injustice threatened to break our democracy, members of the labor movement were there working for jobs and freedom, marching right alongside the Reverend Dr. King, fighting together for civil rights and the Voting Rights Act. When hardworking families were getting squeezed, labor was there fighting alongside our beloved Ted Kennedy. Now we have the Family and Medical Leave Act and we have the Lilly Ledbetter Act, and we have continued to protect Medicare. That's what we do. *(Applause)*

In 2008, when the economy crashed and it was time to rein in the financial predators and Wall Street banks, labor was there. You were there standing shoulder to shoulder with me, standing with President Obama, and fighting for consumer protection. You were. *(Applause)*

Thanks to your efforts, we now have a good, strong Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, and we have got a director confirmed to lead it. That's your work. *(Applause)*

By the way, just so everyone knows, that little agency has already returned half a billion dollars to families who were cheated by big financial institutions. *(Applause)*

Yeah, yeah. Not bad. *(Applause)*

It's helped tens of thousands of consumers solve their problems with Big Banks. It's out there working for us every single day.

This is how I see it: In every fight to build opportunity in this country, in every fight to level the playing field, in every fight for working families, we have been on the front lines because our agenda is America's agenda. That's why we're there. *(Applause)*

Let's be clear about this. We've always had to run uphill. We've had to fight for what we've achieved. Powerful interests have done everything they can to block reform. They attacked Social Security and Medicare. They attacked pensions and

public employees. They attacked bank regulation and consumer protection. The powerful interests have attacked so many of the basic foundations that build a strong middle class, and too many times they have prevailed.

Even today, our work is uphill. The powerful interests fight us on every battlefield they can. Look at the increasing corporate capture of the federal courts. According to a recent study—listen to this one—the five conservative justices currently sitting on the United States Supreme Court are in the top 10 most pro-corporate justices in half a century. And Justices Alito and Roberts—are you ready?—Number 1 and Number 2, the most anti-consumer justices in this entire time.

The Chamber of Commerce is now a major player in the Supreme Court, and its win rate has risen to 70% of all the cases it supports.

Think about this: You follow this pro-corporate trend to its logical conclusion, and sooner or later, you'll end up with a Supreme Court that functions as a wholly owned subsidiary of Big Business.

Look at where we are on “too big to fail.” Five years ago experts said the banks have to be bailed out because there's too much concentration in banking, and the failure of one would bring down the entire economy.

Now, the four biggest banks are 30% bigger than they were five years ago. The five largest banks in America now hold more than half of all the banking assets in the country. And because investors know that they are too big to fail, those banks get cheaper borrowing, which, according to one study, adds up to an annual \$83 billion subsidy from taxpayers, just another benefit of being too big to fail.

Now what about reform? The Dodd-Frank Act was an incredibly important achievement but, since it passed, the Big Banks and their army of lobbyists have fought every step of the way to delay, water down, block or strike down regulations. When a new approach is proposed, like my bill with John McCain, Angus King and Maria Cantwell to bring back Glass-Steagall, you know what happens. They throw everything they have got against it.

And one more. Take a look at what's happening with trade deals. For big corporations, trade agreement time is like Christmas morning. They can get special gifts that they could never pass through Congress out in public. Because it's a trade deal, the negotiations are secret and the big corporations can do their work behind closed doors. We've seen what happens here at home when our trading partners around the world are allowed to ignore worker rights, wages and environmental rules. From what I hear, Wall Street, pharmaceuticals, telecom, big polluters and outsourcers are all salivating at the chance to rig the upcoming trade deals in their favor.

So here's a question. Why are trade deals secret? You know, I've actually heard people say they have to be secret because if the American people knew what was going on, they would be opposed. Think about that. *(Applause)*

Well, I believe that if people would be opposed to a particular trade agreement, then that trade agreement should not happen. Yeah! You bet. *(Applause)*

Finally, look's what's happening in our states. Republican governors in Indiana and Michigan push for so-called “right to work” laws. In Wisconsin, Scott Walker and the legislature he controls—*(Booing)*—have declared war on working families

by ripping the guts out of collective bargaining agreements. The fight continues to rage, and the powerful interests continue to be guided by their age-old principle: "I got mine. The rest of you are on your own."

Well, we're guided by principle, too. It's a simple idea, and all of you know it as an old labor idea. We all do better when we work together and invest in our future. That's what we believe. Yeah. *(Applause)*

We know that the economy grows when hardworking families can improve their lives. We know that the country gets stronger when we invest in helping people succeed. We know that our lives improve when we care for our neighbors. And we know that even though pundits and big corporate lobbyists in Washington might need to be dragged kicking and screaming, we know that America agrees with us. *(Applause)*

So here's the key part of what I want to talk about. On almost every issue of economic concern, our values are America's values and our agenda is America's agenda. We believe that Wall Street needs stronger rules and tougher enforcement. Yeah, we believe that. *(Applause)*

And you know what? So do more than 80% of people. Wall Street will fight us, but the American people are on our side, and that's what we have to remember. *(Applause)*

This is it. We believe in raising the minimum wage. *(Applause)*

Here's the key: So do 71% of people. The Republicans will fight us, but the American people are on our side. *(Applause)*

We believe in preventing cuts to Social Security benefits. *(Applause)*

And so do 87% of Americans. The Washington insiders will fight us, but the American people are on our side. *(Applause)*

We believe in rebuilding our infrastructure and in passing legislation to create jobs, and so do 75% of Americans. Yes. *(Applause)*

The Tea Party will fight us, but the American people are on our side. And we believe that the sequester is stupid. *(Applause)*

You know what? A majority of Americans—including a majority of Republicans—agree with us on that one, too. Yep. *(Applause)*

We ought to be making smart choices about where to cut and where to invest. Washington will fight us, but the American people are on our side.

You know, it was less than a year ago that the American people overwhelmingly re-elected President Obama and gave us a mandate to fight for the middle class. We have a mandate. *(Applause)*

We have a mandate to build a fair tax code, one that isn't rigged to give breaks to big oil and billionaires while it crushes working families. We have a mandate to invest in the future, in infrastructure, in research and innovation and in education. We have a mandate to create jobs, jobs right here in America, jobs for hardworking people. *(Applause)*

That's right.

So here's my message: Our agenda is America's agenda. The American people know that the system is rigged against them, and they want us to level the playing field. That's our mandate. That's what we're here to do. That's right.

Now, I've already fought and lost my share of battles in Washington, and I've been around long enough to know Washington is a tough place. Real reform isn't easy. But I also know this: If we don't fight, we can't win. But if we fight, we will win. *(Applause)*

The budget, immigration, minimum wage, uphill battles, you bet.

But however tough the challenge, however steep our climb, I am proud to stand with you, to march with you, to fight side by side with you. *(Standing ovation)*

Our agenda is America's agenda. Let me hear it. Our agenda is America's agenda!

If we fight for it, we win. We win. We'll do this. Thank you. Thank you all. Thank you. *(Standing ovation)*

TRUMKA: Let's hear it for Senator Elizabeth Warren one more time. *(Applause)*

If we could only clone her and we had another 60 or 70 like her.

REPORT ON INCLUSION CONFERENCE

"Building a Diverse Movement for Shared Prosperity in Our Workplaces, in Our Communities and in Our World"

TRUMKA: Earlier today many of us participated in a very lively and inspiring Inclusion Conference, "Building a Diverse Movement for Shared Prosperity in Our Workplaces, in Our Communities and in Our World." Before we begin our report on the conference, let's take a look at this short video that shows us what diversity means in our community of unions.

Play the video, please.

...A video presentation was shown to the delegation. (Applause)

TRUMKA: God, I love that video. Every time I see it, I get fired up.

Now I'd like to call on Arlene and Liz for a report of the conference. Arlene.

HOLT BAKER: You know, if we had been at church this morning, we would have said, "What a morning, what a morning!" And that it was.

Our conference, "Building a Diverse Movement for Shared Prosperity in Our Workplaces, in Our Communities and in Our World," lived up to its history. More than 1,200 people—women, men, all races and ethnicities, young and, well, not so young, LGBTQ and straight—came together to continue the progress we've been aspiring to since before the first Full Participation Conference in 1995. We were so very pleased to have with us this morning Linda Chavez-Thompson, the executive vice president emerita of the AFL-CIO. *(Applause)*

We have come a long way since those days, sisters and brothers. But none of us will say we've come far enough.

The same year that the first Full Participation Conference was held, the AFL-CIO expanded the Executive Council so more women and people of color had a seat and a voice at the federation's table of leadership. Today, women hold 20% of the seats on the AFL-CIO's Executive Council. People of color hold 23% of the seats on the council. *(Applause)*

In 2005, the convention adopted constitutional language requiring union delegations to the AFL-CIO Convention to generally reflect the racial and gender diversity of the union membership. You heard that report today. You see the results of it around this room.

Today at the conference we heard that America is becoming a majority minority nation; that women are half of our workforce; that today's young people make up the largest wave of entrants to the workforce since the baby boom.

But today's conference was not just about numbers, it was about people, and not only the over 1,200 people who attended but the millions we represent. It was about the African Americans who, 50 years ago, when Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King shared his dream for a new America, still hold in their heart that dream of jobs and freedom for all.

It was about 11 million aspiring Americans who, too, are Dreamers, but are forced to live in the shadows. It was about the LGBTQ workers who can still be legally discriminated against on the job, and the women who still make 77 cents for every dollar a man makes.

It was about ensuring that all of us, including the manufacturing worker in Michigan and the building trades worker in Pennsylvania, can realize their dreams. As much as anyone, today's conference was about the young people who are our future. Simply put, it was about the power of a diverse movement to move forward an agenda of shared prosperity for all.

Liz. *(Applause)*

SHULER: Thanks, Arlene.

Absolutely. At today's conference we also discussed the three resolutions that we are about to take up that will expand the union movement's outreach, engagement and leadership development of people of color, women and young people.

We are looking hard at our progress on inclusion and diversity because it's the right thing to do, it's the fair and decent thing to do. We're also tackling these steps, though, because we must. For the labor movement to survive and thrive, our leadership has to reflect the changing face of America. To build a strong movement that can meet the needs of all working people into the future, we must be fully open to all.

We also know that the labor movement won't be rebuilt if we just keep trying to do the same things in the same ways we've always done. We need the broad perspectives and the fresh ideas of the full cross-section of the American people. Without them, we will not be able to meet the needs of the communities that we exist to serve.

So we have to do more than just attend a conference and pass a few resolutions, right? We must each take change to heart and live it every single day. It's up to us to put into practice the ideas that we surfaced at the conference and the commitments we will find in these resolutions—and hold ourselves accountable to all the people we represent.

Arlene.

HOLT BAKER: Now it's time for us to hear a few quick reports from some of the people who attended this morning's conference. I'd like to call on Petee Talley, Hector Sanchez and Jessica Hayssen.

PIERRETTE "PETEE" TALLEY, Ohio AFL-CIO: Thank you. Good afternoon. I'm Petee Tally, the secretary-treasurer of the Ohio AFL-CIO, and a proud member of that great AFSCME union. (*Applause*)

As Executive Vice President Holt Baker has mentioned, close to a thousand people were in attendance over at the Marriott this morning. We were joined by union leaders, young leaders, faith leaders, community leaders, activists and allies discussing how we move forward an agenda to build a more inclusive labor movement.

Our speakers talked about the changing demographics in our union membership, and I was honored to lead a panel on how we build and support a more inclusive labor movement.

Our panel was rich with conversation about gender equality, building a black/brown coalition, leadership development within labor, being more inclusive of LGBTQ workers, and building—encouraging—more young workers to run for local leadership.

Their stories, your stories, our stories and the work being done is helping us to meet the challenge of building a broad and diverse movement.

The energy in the room was electrifying.

Thank you. (*Applause*)

HECTOR SANCHEZ, Labor Council for Latin American Advancement: Good evening, brothers and sisters. My name is Hector Sanchez, and I'm the executive director of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement.

You're right, Arlene. It was a beautiful day, a day of reflection, a day of analysis, a day of recognizing the struggles that we have gone through. But it was, more than anything, a day to really look into the opportunities in the future to grow our beautiful labor movement.

We were graced by the senior adviser to President Obama, Valerie Jarrett, who spoke about the importance of diversity and community within labor. We took the opportunity to remind the administration that they still have a long way to go to reflect in their cabinet the composition and the diversity of the nation.

We had come from the UCLA Labor Center, with María Elena Durazo, executive secretary-treasurer of the L.A. County Federation of Labor, and we also had Tefere Gebre, the executive director of the Orange County Labor Federation, help us set up a vision for the future and in tabletop discussions ask us to answer two important questions: What is the best ideal proposal you have to build a more inclusive labor movement? If we are successful in building a more inclusive labor movement, what headline would you write for the new labor movement one year from now?

The Diversity Conference continued to provide a space for a multitude of voices to come together and continue to build the vision for our movement. One message was clear: There are some improvements on the issue of diversity in our movement,

but we need to do much better, brothers and sisters, if we want to have a labor movement that reflects the diversity and beautiful composition of our nation.

We cannot wait to go back and start getting these ideas implemented. *Muchas gracias. (Applause)*

JESSICA HAYSSEN, Minnesota AFL-CIO: Good evening, brothers and sisters. My name is Jessica Hayssen, and I work at the Minnesota AFL-CIO. I'm a proud member of the News Guild and the Twin Cities Musicians Union.

I'm also proud to serve as a member of the Young Workers Advisory Council. I have a few observations I'd like to share about this morning's conference. First, we know we have to get this right. The labor movement continues to do the hard work of ensuring that our movement is a movement for women, young people and people of color.

Inclusion and equal opportunity are core values of the labor movement, but they are not only abstract principles. We care about these issues because we have to care, and I know we have to care. The modern workforce is diverse. Young people under 35 account for nearly 36% of the current workforce, and that number will grow. Women account for half the workforce and are increasingly the family breadwinners and, soon enough, we'll be a majority minority nation.

So we're doing great work to make our movement inclusive, but we need to work even harder. As I said before, women make up half the workforce and almost half of our membership, but they don't hold half the leadership positions—not even close.

We started to reach out to young people in earnest, and I'm proud of that, but we need to do more than invite young workers to a meeting or sign them up for email lists. We have to communicate with young people differently, engage them differently and give them a voice for our organizations.

Our power is in our diversity. Women, young people and people of color are more open to joining together in the workplace, and our growth and our survival depends on tapping into that potential. For example, sick days help women make the responsibilities at home and at work but also offer us an opportunity to build powerful community-labor coalitions.

And young people care about issues like access to job opportunities, improved wages, student debt, a voice in the workplace and immigration reform. Sound familiar? We don't have to change our core values or priorities to get young people's attention, but we have to figure out how to engage them.

So the most striking thing about the conference to me today was how many people attended and signed up—over a thousand. So there is energy and commitment on these issues. I was excited to be a part of it.

One of the questions asked that we heard earlier in the small group discussions was, originally, if we are successful in building a more inclusive labor movement—and Tefere challenged us to think “when” we are successful in building a more-inclusive labor movement—what headline would you write for the labor movement one year from now?

The one that resonated with me the most and struck me the most was “Labor Movement Doubles by Reflecting the Entire Working Population.” *(Applause)*

I know as a young person I look forward to working together in mentorship, partnership with you to make this a reality so we do more than double that. Thank you. *(Applause)*

HOLT BAKER: Thank you. Thank you, Petee. Thank you, Hector. And, thank you, Jessica.

Now we will turn it over to Harold Schaitberger, chair of the Resolutions Committee, to chair our discussion on three key resolutions that will deepen our commitment and expand our actions to make this a more representative and truly inclusive labor movement that recognizes, celebrates and prioritizes diversity.

Harold. *(Applause)*

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

VICE PRESIDENT HAROLD A. SCHAITBERGER, Fire Fighters: Thank you, Arlene.

Good afternoon, sisters and brothers. First, I'd like to introduce and thank the members of the Resolutions Committee for their work over the past number of months. The committee was co-chaired by J. David Cox of AFGE.

The full committee includes James Boland of the Bricklayers, Bob King of the UAW, Shar Knutson of the Minnesota AFL-CIO, Fred Mason of the Maryland-D.C. AFL-CIO, Captain Lee Moak of ALPA, Doug Sizemore of the Cincinnati Labor Council, Walter Wise of the Ironworkers and Nancy Wohlforth of OPEIU. *(Applause)*

I'd like to thank all of you for the incredible job you did. It was a pleasure serving our movement with you as part of this important committee.

Now let's move on with the business before us.

The first three resolutions we're about to take up pledge that each of us will continue to pursue what's right and what's just. These three resolutions put into words the work that most of us in this room have been pursuing individually in our own unions for decades. Together they sum up the great challenges still lying before us as leaders of America's labor movement.

These resolutions commit all of us to the vision declared clearly in the preamble of the AFL-CIO Constitution that "The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations is an expression of the hopes and aspirations of the working people of America."

And to that end, the AFL-CIO Executive Council, along with the Committee on Women Workers, the Committee on Civil and Human Rights, and members of the AFL-CIO's Young Workers Advisory Council, brought forward Resolutions 18, 19 and 20 for consideration by the Resolutions Committee.

Resolution 18, "AFL-CIO Women's Initiative: Shared Values, Shared Leadership, Shared Prosperity."

Resolution 19, "Investing in Our Future: Young Workers and Youth Engagement."

And Resolution 20, "Building a Diverse and Inclusive Labor Movement Now and for the Future."

These resolutions call on all of us for fundamental changes, to take every measure necessary to reflect at every level the faces of our members.

They call on us to embrace our differences, and what makes each of us unique.

And they call on us to change our policy, legislative, political and structural priorities to align more closely with those of all workers everywhere, to make sure we clearly reflect the different races, creeds, colors, religions, sexual orientations and identities of those we all represent.

The Resolutions Committee is proud to bring these resolutions to the floor of this convention for action; we recommend to the delegates that these resolutions be adopted.

Now I'd like to ask Ken Rigmaiden of the Civil and Human Rights Committee to report on Resolution 20, "Building a Diverse and Inclusive Labor Movement Now and for the Future."

Ken. (*Applause*)

RESOLUTION NO. 20

Building a Diverse and Inclusive Labor Movement Now and for the Future

VICE PRESIDENT KENNETH RIGMAIDEN, Painters and Allied Trades: Good afternoon delegates.

Good afternoon, alternate delegates. (*Laughter*)

Good afternoon, guests. And good afternoon, partners.

First, let me thank our committee chair, Arlene Holt Baker, for her leadership on the committee and on this resolution.

I'd like to introduce my other sisters and brothers on the Civil and Human Rights Committee: Our vice chair, Michael Goodwin of OPEIU; James Andrews of the North Carolina State AFL-CIO; General Holiefield of the UAW; Lorretta Johnson of AFT; Gregory Junemann of IFPTE; James Little of TWU; Bill Lucy of AFSME; Roberta Reardon of SAG-AFTRA; Fred Redmond of USW; Laura Reyes of AFSCME; Clyde Rivers of CSEA; Cecil Roberts of the Mine Workers; and Nancy Wohlforth of OPEIU.

Thank you all for your hard work on this committee. (*Applause*)

All of us are here together with a common goal, to revitalize the larger, broader, stronger movement to meet the needs of America's working people now and in the future. As one of the participants in our preconvention listening sessions said, "It's extremely important that the labor movement make a concerted effort to grow leaders that are younger and of color. The labor movement has been at the forefront of many a progressive cause, but the perception is that regardless of what the rank-and-file look like, white men continue to dominate the upper ranks." And that, sisters and brothers, is something we are going to change.

We seek diversity because it is the right thing to do. It's where our values are. But also, because we know that only a diverse and inclusive movement at every level will be meaningful to the workforce of the future, where women workers, workers of color, LGBT workers and young workers will be the clear majority.

This resolution builds on a progress made over many years to form that broad and inclusive movement, the heart of which is in this room.

Convention Resolutions 2 from 2005 and 7 from 2009 have had a real and positive effect in moving us forward toward true diversity and inclusiveness.

And as Arlene noted today, women hold 20% of the seats on the AFL-CIO's

Executive Council and people of color hold 23% of the council seats. Also today, 24% of state federation officers are women and 16% are people of color. And you heard earlier in the Credentials Report about the makeup of this convention.

These figures represent improvement, but not on the scale that we seek. We are not yet where we want to be or where we are committed to go.

This resolution reaffirms Resolutions 2 and 7 and urges continued progress based on them.

It also calls on us to prioritize and deepen our commitment to investment and leadership development to equip a diverse group of future leaders with the skills and background to succeed. The AFL-CIO will continue to emphasize diversity when recruiting and training new organizers and leaders, participants in the AFL-CIO Leadership Institute, Union Summer interns, Organizing Institute trainees and the LCC's Minority Outreach Program.

The AFL-CIO also must lead by example, in its hiring, promotions, leadership development, purchasing practices and decisions about resource allocation.

This resolution commits the federation to legislative and policy advocacy on issues of importance to diverse groups of workers, including priorities such as voting rights, mass incarceration, student debt, paid sick days, racial profiling and the Employment Nondiscrimination Act.

Finally, under this resolution the AFL-CIO will conduct a comprehensive review of diversity throughout the labor movement by July 2014 and present recommendations to the Executive Council at its summer 2014 meeting.

Resolution 20 subsumes proposed Resolution 22.

Brothers and sisters, on behalf of the committee, I, Kenneth Rigmaiden, move the adoption of Resolution 20, "Building a Diverse and Inclusive Labor Movement Now and for the Future." *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: The committee moves that Resolution 20 be adopted.

Is there any discussion?

Is there someone at mike 2? Mike 3?

LINDA BRIDGES, AFT: Thank you. My name is Linda Bridges. I'm with the American Federation of Teachers. I'm president of the Texas AFT. And I rise in support of Resolution 20, which affirms the labor movement's commitment to diversity and opportunity and equal rights for all Americans, irrespective of race and national origin, citizenship status, age, gender and sexual orientation.

I am proud of the history of support for civil rights and diversity of my national union, the AFT.

Our first national president was a woman, as are our three top officers today. I think you would agree with me that people of color, immigrants and women are among the most exploited workers in our society and among the most likely to join and support unions.

It is true that we've come a long way in the labor movement with regard to providing and promoting opportunity for all Americans, but we still have a long way to go.

Let's continue the AFL-CIO's progress in building a diverse and inclusive labor movement and adopt Resolution 20. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Delegate at mike 1.

DAVIDA RUSSELL, Ashtabula County (Ohio) AFL-CIO Labor Council: Good afternoon. I'm Davida Russell. I'm the delegate for the Ashtabula labor federation. Two weeks ago, I was elected as the new secretary-treasurer for the North Coast Area Labor Federation. I'm the state vice president of OAPSE/AFSCME, and a proud member of AFSCME. *(Applause)*

I rise in support of Resolution 20. The federation must continue to prioritize and deepen its commitment to invest in leadership development to equip a diverse group of future activists and leaders.

The AFL-CIO must lead by example in its hiring practices, promotions and leadership development opportunities.

The federation staff should reflect its rainbow membership, which it serves. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Delegate at mike 2.

JOSIE CAMACHO, Alameda (Calif.) Labor Council: Thank you, President Trumka. My name is Josie Camacho, delegate from the California Alameda Labor Council, secretary-treasurer, and I rise in strong support of Resolution 20.

I also want to say that my second son was 9.1 pounds, so I think women can carry a lot of weight. *(Cheers and applause)*

The federation has prioritized and deepened its commitment to invest in leadership development in order to equip diverse groups of future leaders with the skills and the background to succeed. We must also do this on our regional and on our local level.

I want to briefly share my story with you that I shared at the Diversity Conference.

My parents came to the U.S. from the island of Guam, which is a U.S. territory. All 10 of us were raised in East Oakland, California.

My parents spoke English, but they also spoke their native language, Chamorro.

We were raised to respect each other and to respect our elders. But one day my mother went to the bank and a teller there, who was white, told her, "I can't understand what you're saying." And so at 13, I said, "Don't talk to my mother like that." And I think that spirit that a lot of us, especially women and people of color, we had to fight all of our lives, and we continue to fight.

And I want to say that if we are going to develop a labor movement that is a labor movement that represents and shows the changing demographics of the working class in this country and globally, we must and we shall have that representation at the top levels of the labor movement.

Would you agree? *(Shouts of "Yes!")*

My final point is that diversity is our destiny. Inclusion is our strength.

If we have diversity inclusion, it will mean a brighter future for our seniors, for our children and our children's children. It will mean a stronger movement. It will mean a united working class that is ready to stand together and fight for all working families.

When we stand together and fight, we win.

Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Well done. Thank you, Sister Josie. Delegate at mike 2.

CHAD JOHNSON, AFSCME: Thank you, Mr. President.

My name is Chad Johnson, delegate from AFSCME, The Green Machine.

I rise in support of Resolution 20, but more specifically, the focus on organizing and the Union Summers to get that next generation.

Just like AFSCME has alternative spring breaks, UNCF scholars, it's the next two generations that we must bring into the fold to ensure our future. And as a part of that, it is also the need of this federation to strongly encourage our front-line CLCs and state federations to reflect the diversity of their membership, because they are the first faces that workers see on the ground. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

Seeing no further debate, the question's on the adoption of Resolution 20.

The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

Those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, say no.

Resolution 20 is adopted. *(Applause)*

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolution covered by it appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

RESOLUTION NO. 20

Building a Diverse and Inclusive Labor Movement Now and for the Future

THE LABOR MOVEMENT STANDS AT A CROSSROADS. Membership in unions is declining, but unions and collective worker power are needed more than ever to address record income inequality and unfair, arbitrary treatment on the job. Extreme politicians and their corporate backers are attacking unions and workers with an intensity not seen in decades. Yet workers across the United States have shown real resilience and courage, facing down these attacks and standing together to form unions, build power, and bargain with their employers for a better life and fairer treatment on the job.

As the labor movement debates strategies for revitalizing and building a broader, stronger movement for the future, diversity in the labor movement at all levels must be made an even higher priority than ever. A diverse and inclusive labor movement is essential to connecting with and representing the workforce of the future, where women workers, workers of color, LGBT workers and young workers are the clear majority. With the workforce getting ever more diverse, it is more important than ever that the labor movement redouble its efforts to build diversity within its ranks.

From 1983 to 2012, employment of African Americans grew from just under 9 million to just under 15 million, and Latino employment rose from nearly 5 million to 20.1 million. The number of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in the workforce—currently nearly 7 million workers—is 20 times higher than in 1960. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, between now and the year 2020, the U.S. workforce is projected to become more diverse, with white workers making up a decreasing share of the labor force while African Americans, Latinos and Asian Americans become an increasing share of the workforce. Women, who composed 48% of the employed workforce in 2012, are expected to have proportionately greater growth in the workforce between now and 2020 compared with men.

Fortunately, this growth in the workforce corresponds with groups that are more likely to be union members and to have positive views toward unions. While African Americans are 11.7% of the workforce, they constitute 14% of union members. According to a new poll by the Pew Research Center for the People, African Americans hold very positive views toward unions—69% positive, compared with 51% for the population as a whole. They are 19% more likely to join unions, according to recent research by Dr. Steven Pitts of the University of California at Berkeley.

Latinos are 14% of union members, up from 6% in 1983. As with African Americans, Latinos hold a very positive view of unions, with 58% of Latinos expressing a positive view in the recent Pew Research survey.

Over the years, membership of women in unions has increased significantly, such that now 45% of union members are women, compared with 33% just 30 years ago. The Pew research found that women, too, hold positive views of unions (55% positive), demonstrating both the importance and the potential of women in the labor movement.

And while their percentage of union membership is the lowest at 4.2%, young workers (i.e., people younger than 30) have very positive views of unions (61% positive), according to the Pew study.

At the past several AFL-CIO conventions, delegates have endorsed wide-ranging and ambitious measures to promote and build diversity within the labor movement. The last two resolutions—Resolution 2 in 2005 and Resolution 7 in 2009—were far-reaching resolutions calling for action in all parts of the labor movement to build diversity in our movement. These initiatives have had a real and positive effect in moving forward the federation's programs and work to support diversity.

The 2009 convention also took the historic step of electing two women to AFL-CIO executive officer positions, meaning that for the first time ever, the AFL-CIO's executive officers were majority female.

In 1995, the convention adopted governance changes to ensure representation

of women and people of color on the AFL-CIO's governing bodies, and those provisions were strengthened and expanded in 2005. Today, women hold 20% of the seats on the AFL-CIO's Executive Council, compared with 12% in 1995 and 2005. People of color hold 23% of the seats on the AFL-CIO Executive Council, compared with 22% in 2005 and 20% in 1995.

In 2005, the convention also adopted constitutional language requiring union delegations to the AFL-CIO convention to generally reflect the racial and gender diversity of the union's membership. This mandate helps to ensure that the delegates making key decisions about the labor movement's policy priorities and actions represent the diversity of the membership of the AFL-CIO's unions. In 2009, the first year the mandate was in effect, 43% of the delegates to the AFL-CIO convention were women or people of color—a true measure of success in implementing this important change. The 2009 convention adopted additional reforms aimed at ensuring that delegates from state, area and local central bodies are diverse. These measures will be in place for the first time at the 2013 convention and will add even greater diversity to the labor movement's highest governing body.

Similarly, the convention resolutions encouraged the AFL-CIO's state, area and local central bodies to make conscious efforts to build diversity in their organizations—at the leadership level and in the hiring of key staff. Today, 24% of state federation officers are women and 16% are people of color, up from 17% and 15%, respectively, in 2005. Twenty-three percent of CLC executive board seats are held by women, and 16% by people of color. These numbers show some improvement since 2005, when Resolution 2 was passed.

At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that progress in diversifying leadership seems to have stalled at the national, state and local levels, making it that much more important to reaffirm the federation's commitment to diversity and redouble our efforts so that we can continue to move forward and make progress.

State, area and local central bodies have taken action to bring the AFL-CIO's constituency groups into their organizations, including onto their governing boards. These efforts have helped ensure representation and involvement by active chapters of the constituency groups in the work of state and local labor movements and helped link the constituency groups to the programmatic priorities of the AFL-CIO's state and local organizations. And dozens of state and local labor movements now have young worker committees or programs, helping to ensure that the energies, issues and concerns of young workers are reflected in the work of our movement.

The AFL-CIO has emphasized diversity when recruiting and training new organizers and leaders. In 2005, the AFL-CIO's Leadership Institute set a goal of ensuring that half of each class be women or people of color, and the institute has met or exceeded that goal. In the most recent class, more than half (53%) of participants were female, more than half (53%) were under 40, and 41% of the class were people

of color. This emphasis on and success in diversity, in training emerging leaders, is essential to building diversity in our movement now and for the future.

Similarly, the AFL-CIO's Organizing Institute, which trains new organizers, and the Union Summer program, which provides summer organizing internships to college students and others, have consciously worked to ensure racial and gender diversity in their classes. Two-thirds of Union Summer participants from 2010-present have been female, and 60% have been students of color. Forty percent of participants in the Organizing Institute's three-day training program have been women, and 40% people of color.

The labor movement's lawyers have demonstrated their commitment to building diversity in the ranks of union lawyers. The AFL-CIO's Lawyers Coordinating Committee, an organization of 2,000 union lawyers across the country, has undertaken an ambitious Diversity Initiative, including a Minority Outreach Program for law students of color, to recruit and retain law students and lawyers of color to ensure that the lawyers representing working people and their unions reflect the diversity of the workforce and our movement.

The AFL-CIO's commitment to diversity at all levels and in all parts of our movement must be deep and enduring. We must continually review our programs and efforts to ensure that we are doing all that we can at all levels to build diversity in our movement. This commitment to diversity is part of who we are as a movement and also recognizes what we must be as a movement if we are to connect with the workforce of the future and build a stronger, broader, more inclusive movement.

Therefore, be it resolved that this convention endorses and reaffirms the provisions of Resolutions 2 and 7 and urges active efforts to continue the progress made under these resolutions.

The federation must prioritize and deepen its commitment to, and investment in, leadership development in order to equip a diverse group of future leaders with the skills and background to succeed.

The AFL-CIO itself must lead by example, in its hiring, promotions, leadership development opportunities, purchasing practices and decisions about resource allocation, to ensure that building and retaining diversity in our movement is a top consideration.

We must actively engage in legislative and policy advocacy on issues of importance to diverse groups of workers to demonstrate our commitment to these communities. The labor movement's engagement on issues like voting rights, mass incarceration, student debt, paid sick days and the Employment Non-Discrimination Act shows the labor movement's commitment to issues important to our members and our allies. We are also committed to addressing racial profiling, which continues to be an

egregious form of discrimination in this country. It is essential that we address these and other critically important issues as we work to broaden the labor movement.

While the labor movement’s work in these areas continues, the AFL-CIO shall conduct a comprehensive review of diversity in the labor movement—the AFL-CIO itself, its state and local central bodies, the role played and value added by the constituency groups and efforts by affiliate unions. As part of this review, the AFL-CIO should commission any necessary studies and reports and engage in outreach and discussion with affiliates, allies and other sources. This review should be completed no later than July 2014 and should produce a series of recommendations to be considered by the AFL-CIO Executive Council at its summer 2014 meeting.

(End Resolution No. 20)

SCHAITBERGER: I now call on Diann Woodard, vice chair of the Committee on Women Workers, to report on Resolution 18, “AFL-CIO Women’s Initiative: Shared Values, Shared Leadership, Shared Prosperity.”

Diann.

RESOLUTION NO. 18

AFL-CIO Women’s Initiative: Shared Values, Shared Leadership, Shared Prosperity

WOODARD: Thank you, Harold.

Before we go further, let me introduce the other members of the Women Workers Committee. First, our chair, Liz Shuler. *(Applause)*

Also, Paul Almeida of the Department for Professional Employees, Rose Ann DeMoro of NNU, Michael Goodwin of OPEIU, Lorretta Johnson of AFT, Roberta Reardon of SAG-AFTRA, Laura Reyes of AFSCME, Karen See of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and Veda Shook of AFA-CWA, as well as Nancy Wohlforth of OPEIU. *(Applause)*

Women may hold up half the sky, as the resolution states, but we don’t have half the pie. And that’s the fact despite more than a century of struggle and significant gains. Women still only make 77 cents of every dollar paid to men; two-thirds of all minimum wage workers are women, especially women of color; and women are the majority of workers in the lowest-paying occupations.

In Resolution 18, the AFL-CIO commits to standing with women and insisting on: (1) equality and pay and opportunity for all; (2) the right of women to control their own bodies and be free from violence—*(Applause)*—and (3) the right of every woman to meet her fullest potential and the opportunity to serve and lead her community.

That means we will work to raise the minimum wage, close the wage gap, expand job training and educational opportunities, and make wage and benefit standards across industries more transparent.

While protecting bedrock social safety net programs, we will ramp up our support for paid sick days, paid family and medical leave, and affordable quality child care. We also will continue our stand for contraceptive equity and respect for women’s choices in their health care. *(Applause)*

Recognizing that the labor movement is not alone in this struggle, we will continue to invest in inclusive, enduring alliances locally and internationally. At the same time, we'll ensure that women are fully engaged and represented at all levels of our movement and of our work, and thoroughly integrate women's issues in our policy, legislative and political strategies and campaigns.

I want to thank Secretary-Treasurer Liz Shuler for her leadership on women's issues. Liz was also a leader of a recent online listening session that focused on the question: How do we make our movement all it can be for working women?

It was really a lively conversation, and the discussion of this resolution reminds me of one of the comments that came in, pointing out that strong and independent women often are cast aside and not given any respect for their contributions within our movement as well as in the workplace and society.

I believe that Resolution 18 will take us several steps closer to a movement and a nation that respects the contributions of all women, and that's important for all of us.

On behalf of the Committee of Women Workers, I move the adoption of Resolution 18, the "AFL-CIO Women's Initiative: Shared Values, Shared Leadership, Shared Prosperity." (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Diann.

The committee recommends that Resolution 18 be adopted.

Is there any discussion? I'll start at mike 2 this time.

MATTIE HARRELL, AFSCME: Good afternoon, brothers and sisters. My name is Mattie Harrell, and I'm a part of the great AFSCME. (*Applause*)

I rise in support of the resolution for No. 18, because we still only make 77 cents to every dollar earned by men.

Two-thirds of our minimum wage workers are women, especially women of color. Women make up the majority of workers in the lowest-paid jobs.

Thank you. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Delegate at mike 3.

KATHY CHAVEZ, AFT: Thank you. My name is Kathy Chavez, and I'm a very proud member of the American Federation of Teachers. I'm an executive vice president of AFT New Mexico, and I'm also president of Local 4129, representing the educational assistants. But most importantly, I'm a proud woman of two colors.

Why is this important? Today, women of all colors, all walks of life, all professions are at least half of the workforce in the United States, but as women, we continue to experience lower wages for the same jobs performed by men. Ensuring equal pay for women is hardly ever enforced, allowing employers to ignore the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and continue to discriminate.

Because women make less, they will have less for child care costs, have lower retirement accounts and lower Social Security earnings, keeping them behind men again.

Women make the majority of health decisions for families across all generations,

yet their ability to make decisions and choices about their own health care is too often called into question.

When women try to get a higher education, they are often caught in the incredible debt cycle, compromising their ability to raise and provide for their own children's education.

Women are the caretakers of children and the elderly in our society, often having their jobs and work put on hold to care for others. It is not by choice, but by necessity that they find their work interrupted.

Women are still facing pregnancy discrimination in the 21st century. Women find themselves discharged as unable to perform their jobs at a time when a source of income and medical care is critical.

Communities are where we all live and function. The threads that weave that space enclose all of us. Women are often the communicators, the contact points, the peacemakers, the weavers—and so, they are the ones best informed to make the connections between groups and ideas.

Very few women occupy leadership in the union movement. Yet in some unions we are as much as 70% of the membership, and in some cases higher.

One might ask why the gates have not opened wide to take them in equally. This resolution is calling on us to demand equal pay for equal work. Push for the passage of the Paycheck Fairness Act, which has languished for the last eight years between the U.S. House and Senate, push for workplace fairness through the adoption of paid sick days.

TRUMKA: The delegate's time has expired. Please conclude.

CHAVEZ: We just need to urge support of Resolution 18. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Delegate at mike 1.

DOROTHY TOWNSEND, AFSCME: Good afternoon, brothers and sisters. My name is Dorothy Townsend. I am a board member of the Atlanta-North Georgia Labor Council, and I am also a proud board member of the Georgia state federation. But I am most proud of my 30-year membership in AFSCME. *(Applause)*

Mr. Chairman, I rise to urge support of Resolution 18. Our union takes women's issues, concerns and forward mobility seriously. Of the 1.4 million members of AFSCME, 60% of those members are women. *(Applause)*

On our international staff at the director and manager level, 50% are women. I am very proud of that.

But it does not stop there. Last June, our union launched our first women's leadership academy to train and mentor our female rank-and-file activists. I'm proud of the investment our union is making in women.

Our members just elected our first female international secretary-treasurer, Laura Reyes.

President Saunders does not just talk the talk, he is committed to walking the walk, and I urge the federation to do the same. Support the women.

Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Delegate at mike 2.

MARY SULLIVAN, AFSCME: Good afternoon, sisters and brothers. My name is Mary Sullivan. I am an international vice president of AFSCME. I am also the executive vice president of CSEA/AFSCME Local 1000 in New York, AFSCME's largest affiliate. And I am the proud president of the Capital District Area Labor Federation in Albany, New York. *(Applause)*

Women are increasingly the primary wage earner in families. This economy has caused our brothers to lose their work and it forces women often to go into the workplace where they have not been. They have been at home caring for the children, or they have been the partner in the workplace given the fact that, as you all know, there's not much left of the middle class.

Women must have access to paid sick leave, of the right to control the health needs of their own bodies. Women must be engaged and empowered at every level of this federation.

Brothers and sisters, women's issues are organized labor's issues. A woman's place is in her union.

Thank you.

TRUMKA: Hear, hear! Thank you, Sister. Delegate at mike 3.

HOLLY HART, United Steelworkers: Hello, my name is Holly Hart, and I am a proud delegate from the United Steelworkers. I'm going to tell a three-minute story, I hope.

Once upon a time, back in the 1970s when I was a young worker, my generation was fighting for equal rights. They were fighting for women's reproductive rights, job and wage equality in the workplace, and equality in society. That was the era of the constitutional amendment for equal rights.

I entered the workforce at that time as a secretary. Now, I'm a legislative director and assistant to the president of the United Steelworkers.

Well, what I want to say is that it didn't happen to me because of those battles in the 1970s. It's 40 years later and where are we? We're still fighting for all those things. Women's reproductive rights have been eroded. We're still all fighting for equality in the workplace.

What made it happen for me and for others like me in my union, my sisters and my brothers? My union has leadership programs. It has leadership programs for young workers, for our activists, for women. And we have a leadership that is committed to growing those groups.

It happened because I had mentors who recognized that our future, our union's future, our diversity, depended upon each of us reaching out to our fellow sisters and brothers, our youth. And as a movement, we must see beyond our generations, our genders, our race, our orientation to ensure that everyone has the opportunity and the support, like I did, to reach your full potential.

Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister Holly. Delegate at mike 1.

BRIANNA RODRIGUEZ, Young Workers Advisory Council: My name is Brianna Rodriguez, and I'm a member of the Young Workers Advisory Council and Younger Work at Working America.

I rise in support of this resolution for the women in my family who have always had to balance work and family because rent had to be paid and children needed to be fed.

I support this resolution because they have traditionally held what society continues to undervalue and call women's work.

I stand here today for them because they have never known what it's like to have health care on the job, a paid sick day or access to a 401(k). I'm the first in my family.

I take this opportunity to support this resolution in honor of my *abuela*, who always taught her daughters to take advantage of every opportunity because she knew what it felt like to watch her brothers finish school while she had to drop out in the 8th grade to provide for her family.

I stand in support of this resolution for my mother, who turned women's work into a small business as a daycare provider, and will remind you not to call her a babysitter because she doesn't sit on the job. *(Applause)*

I remember growing up what she always told me, "Use your voice, Brianna." She said, "Fight. This is the only way people will know where you stand."

So, Mom, I fight for this resolution for you and for the young women leaders, like Karen Nussbaum who, at the age of 23, reinvented collective power on the job in a way that spoke to women. And at the age of 23, she understood that the only way we could win was with strength in numbers.

So I stand with the young women of my generation who know the fight lives on, and I'm here to tell you that we're ready, that we're determined and that we're hopeful.

We believe in ourselves and we ask that you believe in us, too.

We ask that you believe in young workers and young women workers and young women of color.

And finally, I rise in support of this resolution because too few women are recognized as leaders in and outside of the labor movement.

I fight for this resolution because the women's movement that belongs to my mother and my *abuela* is the labor movement, and that movement is my movement, too. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Delegate at mike 2.

PAUL ALMEIDA, Department for Professional Employees: My name is Paul Almeida. I'm the president of the Department for Professional Employees, a coalition of 22 national unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO, and a proud member of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Women Workers.

I am honored on behalf of the more than 4 million union professional and technical people to rise in support of Resolution 18.

Among the other memorable events that happened 50 years ago was the passage of the Equal Pay Act. Maybe not so memorable, because 50 years later the Department of Labor still reports a persistent wage gap for women. Why?

Are women a small part of the workforce? No, 67 million women work, 47% of the workforce.

Aren't women always taking time off to have children? No, in fact, even among women with children under the age of 1, almost 56% of them work.

Aren't women typically in low-paying service-sector jobs? No, 51% of working women are employed in professional and technical occupations.

Aren't women less educated? No, women have earned more bachelor's degrees than men since 1982, more master's degrees than men since 1981 and more Ph.D.s than men since 2006.

So who wins and who loses by having unequal pay? Every woman worker and her family loses. So who wins? Corporate America wins, and wins big.

From day one, a newly elected woman senator or member of Congress earns exactly the same amount as her counterpart. Why? Because it's the law. Perhaps if the women in Congress earned 30% less than their male counterparts, something would be done about this gross injustice.

I fully support Resolution 18 and hope when my 8-year-old granddaughter starts working, she will earn equal pay.

Women's issues are our issues. Women's leaders are our leaders. The woman's movement is the labor movement.

Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Paul. Delegate at mike 1.

BONNIE MORR, SMART: Yes, thank you. I'd like to take an opportunity to speak in support of this initiative.

My mom was an immigrant worker who came from Europe many years ago.

TRUMKA: You have to state your name and affiliation.

MORR: My name is Bonnie Morr. I'm with the Sheet Metal Air Rail Transportation Division, and I'm a vice president.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister.

MORR: You're welcome. At any rate, my mom came and she was an immigrant worker in New York; worked in sweatshops. She was a child laborer. She fought with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to form the union. She had her teeth knocked out. She was beaten. She fought hard, but she never gave up the fight. She continued on and both my mom and my aunt struggled to become, you know, union representatives through the years until she passed away a few years ago at the age of 100.

TRUMKA: God bless.

MORR: She never gave up her belief in the union. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Hear, hear!

MORR: She had always encouraged my position and to move forward and to never keep silent and to always keep fighting.

And the importance behind that is that for our children and our grandchildren coming behind us, we need to cut that pathway so that they can be part of the AFL-CIO, part of the corporations, part of the unions for equal rights within the workforce. And I—therefore, I'd like to just share my support of this resolution. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister.

Seeing no further debate, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 18. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Opposed, nay.

Resolution 18 is adopted. *(Applause)*

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 18

AFL-CIO Women's Initiative: Shared Values, Shared Leadership, Shared Prosperity

"WOMEN HOLD UP HALF THE SKY." Women are half the workforce and two-thirds of the caregivers in our families. Women believe we are stronger if we stick together than go it alone. Most women see that corporate CEOs have too much influence. Women have moved into roles in civic and economic life that were out of reach not long ago.

But despite more than a century of struggle and tremendous gains, women still don't have equality. As workers—along with men—women continue to fight for good jobs, a just economy and family values at work. And as union members, too few women are recognized as leaders.

We stand with women and insist on: Equality in pay and opportunity for all; the right of women to control their own bodies and be free from violence; and the right of every woman to meet her fullest potential and the opportunity to serve—and lead—her community. Nothing less.

Women's equality is a shared struggle. More women belong to the labor movement than any other membership organization. We recognize women's issues as shared values. We work toward shared leadership to represent the makeup of our membership.

And we will demand, over and over again, shared prosperity for all. Nothing less.

Over the next four years, a core set of values will drive the labor movement's agenda and define our strategy for women's equality:

Equal Pay for Equal Work

From the beginning of our movement, we fought for fair pay, building a middle class through collective bargaining and the fight for a minimum wage. But women still only make 77 cents of every dollar paid to men; despite educational gains, two-thirds of all minimum wage workers are women, especially women of color; and women are the majority of workers in the lowest-paying occupations. Those are problems for all of us—in the decades leading up to the financial crisis, worker productivity increased substantially, but wages for men and women have remained stagnant.

Therefore, be it resolved: Each one of us should get fair pay for a day's work. The AFL-CIO will continue its fight to raise the minimum wage and close the wage gap between men and women. We commit to expanded job training and educational opportunities, including opportunities for women in non-traditional sectors. And we support policies and programs to make wage and benefit standards across industries more transparent, so we all know what's fair.

Respect for Work, Family and Community

Americans are working harder and longer than ever before. Women joined the workforce in large numbers over the past 30 years—serving as primary caregivers and increasingly as primary breadwinners. Families are stretched thin through a combination of low pay, high student loans, limited health care and retirement benefits, unfair work schedules and limited access to paid sick days and paid family and medical leave. Every day men and women are forced to choose between their families, their health and their responsibilities at work.

Therefore, be it resolved: We should all be able to meet our responsibilities on the job, at home and in the community. In addition to the labor movement's longstanding support for Social Security, health care and a strong social safety net, we will increase our support for paid sick days campaigns at the local, state and federal levels; be a leader in the fight for paid family and medical leave; support families by making quality child care affordable and relieving student debt; continue our stand for contraceptive equity and respect for women's choices; and ensure fair schedules alongside a fair wage.

Joining Allies on a Shared Agenda

These problems can seem overwhelming—working women and families are struggling to make it all work and too often bear the burden of these challenges alone. But together—as unions, as communities, as a nation—we can come together and make change. Cities and states across the country are responding to the needs of working families through increased access to paid leave and fair scheduling; men and women are coming together to stop violence in the workplace and at home;

domestic workers are asserting the value of care work in the home and in the global economy, building new kinds of power and global alliances; and the majority of the nation supports a path to citizenship to keep families together and end exploitation on the job.

Therefore, be it resolved: We are not alone. Partnerships between community allies and the labor movement are essential to achieving social and economic justice for women. The labor movement must continue to invest in inclusive, enduring alliances locally and on the international stage, tackling structural, cultural and policy barriers that stand in the way of equality.

Building a Movement

When we come together, we have the potential to transform an economy that has favored corporate interests over people, built wealth for the very, very few and lowered expectations for what's possible in America. Through action—on the job, in the economy, in social movements and in government—we can transform fear and hardship into shared hope, collective action and shared prosperity. And through shared leadership—with women fully represented at all levels of our movement—we can build shared power and transform our movement.

Therefore, be it finally resolved, as the AFL-CIO develops its strategy for shared prosperity, women's equality and leadership as articulated in this resolution and the mission statement of the Executive Council Committee on Women Workers will be front and center in our effort to grow the labor movement, revitalize democracy, respond to the global economic crisis and build durable community partnerships.

- At the national, state and local levels, our labor federations will integrate women's issues in every key strategy to grow the movement, develop leadership, build community partnerships and improve the lives of working people.
- Women should be engaged at all levels of the federation in the strategy, outreach and implementation of political, organizing and issue campaigns, especially those that have a particular impact or relevance to women and women workers.
- Public policy and legislative efforts will prioritize issues such as equal pay, paid family and medical leave, workforce development or other key priorities identified above.
- Political campaigns and mobilization will include women's issues such as paid sick days as a measure of commitment to labor's priorities.

Women's issues are our issues. Women leaders are our leaders. The women's movement is the labor movement.

(End Resolution No. 18)

TRUMKA: Harold.

SCHAITBERGER: Our next resolution deals with young workers and youth engagement.

But before we begin discussing it, I'd like to show you a video where young workers speak for themselves.

The AFL-CIO Young Workers Advisory Council put out a call for young people across the country to submit videos and make their voices heard in this convention hall.

Please turn your attention to the video screens.

...A video presentation was shown to the delegation. (Applause)

SCHAITBERGER: Nice job. Next I'm going to call on two people who understand the importance of this resolution firsthand, and had a hand in creating it. They will report on Resolution 19, "Investing in Our Future: Young Workers and Youth Engagement."

Lorenzo Arciniega and Michelle Wyvill are co-chairs of the Young Workers Advisory Council.

Lorenzo.

RESOLUTION NO. 19

Investing in Our Future: Young Workers and Youth Engagement

LORENZO ARCINIEGA, Young Workers Advisory Council: Hello and welcome. Today's young workers are part of the largest generation to enter the workforce since the baby boomers. We also make up the most diverse and technologically savvy generation in America's history, but we suffer, and suffer we do. We suffer the nation's highest unemployment. We also suffer the fewest job opportunities in today's economy. My generation of workers—we are active, we are engaged and we are ready to reverse this economic and social injustice. All of us must recognize that the continued strength and energy of the labor movement depends deeply on the ability of young union members to develop into effective labor leaders.

It's time. Now it's time. Now it's time to build on Resolution 55 that was passed at the 2009 Convention. Now it's time to build on the AFL-CIO's Next Up program, which ushered in dozens of start-up young worker groups across the country. Now it's time. It's time now to build on the two successful national summits of young workers that brought in young workers, activists and community partners.

Now is the time to build on the Young Workers Leadership Institute that took place in 2012. Now is the time to build on the program that was built through the Labor 2012 political program as well. These programs have inspired and supported young workers from around the country to take action in their local community. Now.

Me personally, in my hometown of San Jose, California, young workers stood in solidarity with San Jose State University students to raise the minimum wage in our city. The efforts started off as an idea in a college classroom, just in the classroom, just a discussion. Students themselves were working minimum wage jobs trying to pay their bills and go to school full time. It was a struggle.

But with the support of the South Bay Labor Council, the idea turned into a robust labor-community partnership bringing together young people, students, labor and a range of progressive allies. It was such an amazing experience to be a part of. We built solidarity in our community and, even better, we were successful. We raised the minimum wage in San Jose by two dollars. *(Applause)*

Now, as we all know, work here in labor is very hard and hard work it is. But as young workers we manage to find a little fun in it, too, wouldn't you say, Michelle?

MICHELLE WYVILL, Young Workers Advisory Council: Absolutely. Now, let's talk about exactly what Resolution 19 is to do.

Resolution 19, "Investing in Our Future: Young Workers and Youth Engagement," was drafted by the Young Workers Advisory Council and considered by the committees on Civil and Human Rights and Women Workers before being approved by the Executive Council in July. This resolution commits the AFL-CIO to recognize the Young Workers Advisory Council on the General Board of the AFL-CIO with the goal of empowering the next generation of labor leaders to challenge them, inspire, build and organize around issues that matter to them and to us, and it ensures the process for getting on the council reflects our new responsibilities.

The resolution deepens our commitment to young worker programming, building on the work we started with Secretary-Treasurer Shuler four years ago.

And finally, the resolution calls on state federations and central labor councils to include young worker engagement in their strategic plans, and sets the goal of tripling the number of local young worker groups over the next four years. Given the opportunity, young workers will meet this goal.

A young machinist named Caleb McConaughy, who I have had the pleasure of mentoring, attended a Next Up conference and was so inspired he went back home to Cedar Rapids, Iowa, gathered some friends and organized a young worker group. This resolution will take that work to the next level.

On behalf of myself, Lorenzo and the rest of the YWAC, we would love to thank you for your support and your solidarity.

SCHAITBERGER: Terrific job, Michelle and Lorenzo. Terrific job. There's an example of the leadership of our future. Thank you to the Young Workers Advisory Council.

I think we all need to give our youth and new leaders a really big hand. Nice job. Job well done. *(Applause)*

Brothers and sisters, on behalf of the committee, I move the adoption of Resolution 19.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 19 be adopted.

Is there any discussion? Delegate at mike 1.

CHRIS SLOAN, IUPAT: I rise today in support of Resolution 19. My name is Chris Sloan. I'm 28 years old, and I work for the International Union of Painters and Allied Trades.

I rise today on behalf of my international, IUPAT District Council 51, Local Union 1937, the IUPAT Young Lions and a generation of young workers who support

Resolution 19. Our generation inherited a brutal economy, high unemployment, skyrocketing education costs and stagnant wages. But we're also a generation of dreamers looking ahead to the America of tomorrow, the America we will make happen through our activism, our energy and our innovation.

We are a generation that believes the labor movement has a beautiful history—a history that we turn to for guidance, for motivation, for grounding. But our future depends on moving forward, organizing and building a movement for the future. And young workers are ready to continue to dream, act and innovate in order to organize and grow our movement.

For all those who fear that future generations will fail to carry the torch, fear not. When given a chance to contribute and lead within the labor movement, young workers have stepped up time and time again to help reinvigorate, reposition and drive innovation with our own organizations.

These resolutions recognize our collective dream and act to drive innovation and inclusion within the movement. This resolution provides young workers standing as true partners with a place at the table.

I respectfully submit these letters of endorsement for the resolution to you, Mr. Chairman, for your consideration of their inclusion into the minutes of the convention. These letters from international unions, state federations, CLCs, Working America and young worker groups not only urge delegates of this convention to vote in favor of this resolution, but to carry with them the promise of carrying out this resolution should it receive the support of this convention.

Resolution 19 will drive local union activism, build community and partnerships, and develop young leaders by investing in young worker groups across the country. This resolution is about building capacity to deliver on the change we all seek, building a movement for the future.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother, and the letters will be accepted into the record.
Delegate at mike 2.

DAVE LEVINE, AFSCME: Good afternoon, Mr. President. My name is Dave Levine. I'm a delegate from The Mighty Green Machine, the home of Arlene Holt Baker, of AFSCME. *(Applause)*

I have the pleasure of co-chairing AFSCME's Wave Committee, and I rise in support and to echo the remarks of my good friend and brother, my brother from the YWAC, and I rise in support of this resolution.

Mr. President, empowering the next generation is a top priority for AFSCME. For the last seven years, all across the nation, we have developed innovative and powerful programs under the flag of the Next Wave. These programs have allowed our members to develop our skills and prepare us for our turn to carry the torch forward of leadership of what it means to be labor.

Just two months ago, 600 new and young activists of AFSCME gathered in Detroit for our third Next Wave conference. At that conference, we collaborated

with one another, discussed how we can work together on our common goals across this nation.

We went into the City Hall of Detroit and made our voices heard against the attacks on working people and the local dictator.

Mr. President, and fellow delegates, by golly, we were heard. We were all over the news that entire weekend. That is the power of young workers. *(Applause)*

Mr. President, this resolution is a commitment to our future. I can speak for AFSCME, the Next Wave Committee, and the entire 1.6 million members of AFSCME, that we are committed to invest in that future.

I know my brother who just spoke last, he and his union have a commitment. I know many national leaders all across this room have that same commitment, and this resolution reflects that very commitment.

I ask that this entire delegation support Resolution 19. I thank you for your support, and God bless you all. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Dave. Delegate at mike 3.

DAN MONTGOMERY, AFT: Thank you, Mr. President. I'm Dan Montgomery, a proud member of the AFT, and AFT vice president, and president of the Illinois Federation of Teachers and vice president of the aligned AFL-CIO.

I urge brothers and sisters to support this resolution. The long-term viability and success of our movement depends in very large part on the next generation of union rank-and-file members, workers and leaders.

How can we forget that it was GEOs and students who occupied Madison and began the Wisconsin uprising in 2010. From the beginning, young workers have been at the forefront and defending labor rights whenever they've come under attack. It was young people, again, who focused national attention on increasing economic inequality with the Occupy movement in 2011.

This year, it's been young people, groups like the DREAM defenders, who have been pushing the envelope and, frankly, pushing us in the larger movement on issues such as corporate accountability, immigration, racial justice and marriage equality.

But let's make no mistake. We're not here just to talk about simply engaging young people around labor's values or developing new union leaders. Our young members are already engaged in our values. They are already among our leaders. Our task is to bring young workers to the table to help them shape our future and to follow their lead to work with them to shape the present.

This collaboration across generations has the potential to transform all our members, from the worker stepping on the shop floor for the first time to longtime activists who have been in the vanguard of social changes for 50 years.

At the AFT, we are committed to engaging our younger leaders and encouraging our affiliates at all levels to make sure that our workers are part of leadership, our younger workers, and that their voices and issues are heard, and we draw upon their experiences. We're working with progressive student groups who want to work with labor to build a common agenda, the United States Student Association, student PIRG chapters around the country.

We're working with United Students Against Sweatshops to educate undergraduates about the role of labor, and to counter anti-union groups like Students for Education Reform. In my state fed, we've got younger members actively engaged in governance with a young members' constituency council.

Brothers and sisters, I urge you to support the resolution and move back home and commit your locals and affiliates and federations to make this come alive.

Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Dan. Delegate at mike 1.

ASTRID ZUNIGA, Central Labor Council of Stanislaus and Tuolumne Counties (Calif.): Good afternoon, brothers and sisters, or should I say evening. My name is Astrid Zuniga. I am the Stanislaus and Tuolumne Counties Central Labor Council secretary-treasurer and a proud member of the United Domestic Workers/AFSCME Local 3930. *(Applause)*

I am a Next Waver. As my brother from AFSCME discussed, our conferences that we've been having, Next Wave, has given all of our workers an opportunity to learn and to take back those tools to become leaders in their community and in their individual unions.

I urge everyone in that room to go back into your communities, into your labor councils, into your labor federations and get your youths involved. Go to the government classes in the schools. I'll be speaking at my daughter's school to educate them on labor, women's rights, elderly rights, disability rights.

We owe it to ourselves to invest in our future and I urge everyone in this room to continue to do so. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister Astrid. Delegate at mike 2.

VICE PRESIDENT FRED REDMOND, USW: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My name is Fred Redmond, and I'm a proud member of the United Steelworkers union. *(Applause)*

I rise in support of Resolution No. 19, "Investing in Our Future: Young Workers and Youth Engagement."

My union, the Steelworkers, formalized our Young Members Program with unanimous passage of Resolution No. 4 in 2011. This resolution created the Next Generation Program as part of the Steelworkers permanent structure. We've devoted our leadership development program to train our next generation of leaders.

We have seen firsthand what happens when you bring young people into the conversations, have them at the table and allow them to participate, and we have been a better union for it.

Our program is still going, but we have made great strides. We now have Next Generation coordinators in each one of our U.S. and Canadian districts. Young people have been appointed to leadership roles and have done amazing work to help build a strong, modern union that honors our proud history while securing our future.

We have young brothers and sisters like Nick Gaitaud of Local 7150 in Albany, Oregon, and Tiffany Lewis of Local 3267 in Pueblo, Colorado, who are both here with us today as part of the Steelworkers delegation to this convention. In the field we have developed young sisters like Elba Martes, a public-sector member, who knocked on hundreds of doors and handed out thousands of leaflets in Ohio during last year's election campaign.

We've developed young brothers like Ephraim Jenkins, a third-generation Steelworker in Gary, Indiana, who has organized dozens of young people in his local and got them more active in an area that's struggling to survive after decades of deindustrialization.

Brothers and sisters, the list of accomplishments from our young members goes on and on, but perhaps the most impressive impact of our Next Generation Program has been at the collective bargaining table. With Steelworkers of all ages at the bargaining table, our union has made great strides in fighting divide-and-conquer corporate tactics like tiered wage and benefits systems, attacks against retirement security and pensions, and attempts to break promises to our retirees.

So our commitment to including, developing and mentoring our young members has made us a stronger union. I believe it has made us a stronger movement. Brothers and sisters, if we continue this effort by passing this resolution and taking continued actions to engage our younger members, I believe that it will make us a stronger society.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Fred.

You know, Brother Fred, this morning at the Inclusion Conference anybody under 35 was a young worker, everybody over 35—we were called seasoned workers. I told them that I was very seasoned, quite frankly. But of the seasoned workers, I think you're the youngest seasoned worker I've ever known, and I want to compliment you for that. *(Applause)*

Delegate at mike 3.

NEIDI DOMINGUEZ, CLEAN Carwash Campaign: Good afternoon, everyone. My name is Neidi Dominguez. I'm 25 years old, a Mexican immigrant and was an undocumented woman until three months ago, when I received my green card. *(Applause)*

I am currently the strategic campaign coordinator for the CLEAN Carwash Campaign in Los Angeles and the campaign manager for the California Immigrant Youth Justice Alliance.

On June 15 of 2012, under President Obama's administration, the Department of Homeland Security issued a directive to grant Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, DACA, to provide relief from deportation to undocumented youth just like me. And let's make it clear, it was because of the leadership and determination of those undocumented youth across the country. *(Applause)*

It is estimated that about 2 million undocumented youth benefit from DACA. These are young students and workers that come from diverse backgrounds based

on our gender, ethnic backgrounds, our language and sexual orientation. Resolution 19 will help guide the way for the labor movement to embrace and recognize these young workers, these leaders. And by doing so, it will ensure that we will build a strong, innovative, vibrant and inclusive labor movement.

I urge a strong support for Resolution 19. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Delegate at mike 1.

CHARISSA FIELDS, UAW: Good afternoon, everyone. My name is Charissa Fields, and I am a proud delegate of the United Auto Workers union. *(Applause)*

I stand today in support of Resolution 19, as much of my work is done speaking with young people on college campuses that have never had the discussion of social justice or even understand what a union can really do.

I think it's important for people to understand that there are young workers out there that want to be engaged in the conversation of social justice, as we are the ones that are inheriting the socioeconomic issues such as student debt, unemployment and temporary labor.

I see today that the program here that could help to invest in the future of young people is needed. So I came to the mike today to let you know that I stand in true support of this resolution and that more engagement needs to happen; that young people are ready to lead and be a part of the change. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Delegate at mike 1.

FRANK LIMA, IAFF: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I rise before the delegates in support of Resolution No. 19. I am a seasoned worker. *(Laughter)*

And nothing like speaking when everybody wants to call the question. *(Laughter)*

My name is Frank Lima. I'm the president of Los Angeles City Firefighters, Local 112. *(Applause)*

I'm also a sitting member of the AFL-CIO Los Angeles County Federation of Labor and a California Professional Firefighters Eighth District vice president.

This one is kind of personal to me. I took the test to become an L.A. city firefighter when I was 17 years old, living in fire stations growing up on the east side, and people believed in me. I've never forgotten that.

I've had three union jobs. I was a Carpenter at Local 1506 right down the street. I drove a Budweiser truck. And I've been opening up roofs and putting out fires the last 22 years.

I want to personally thank two members on that stage. One, María Elena Durazo, thank you for having faith in me. *(Applause)*

And my general president from the International Association of Fire Fighters, Harold Schaitberger. Thank you for having faith in me, Brother. *(Applause)*

You know, we support young firefighters. Our union doesn't talk about it, we walk about it. We support cadets in the inner city financially and by volunteering. These are future union members. We target high schools, and we learn to communicate with them. We've always all been there. Don't forget your roots.

Thank you, brothers and sisters, for your consideration. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Seeing no further debate, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 19. The committee recommends that you vote for Resolution 19.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, nay. Resolution 19 is adopted. (*Applause*)

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 19

Investing in Our Future: Young Workers and Youth Engagement

AT THE 2009 AFL-CIO CONVENTION, delegates unanimously passed Resolution 55, "In Support of AFL-CIO Programs for Young Workers." The resolution was a bold statement that the continued strength and vitality of the labor movement depends heavily on the ability of younger union members to develop into strong and effective labor leaders. The resolution expressed that a powerful labor movement can be built only through recognition and inclusion of the full diversity of the labor force, including workers of all ages. The resolution called for the AFL-CIO to actively develop initiatives and programs aimed at bringing young workers into the labor movement at the national, state and local levels, and dedicate resources to the leadership development of younger union members throughout the country.

The AFL-CIO used Resolution 55 to bring together a diverse group of young union members and activists to help lead this effort. The AFL-CIO's Next Up program and its Young Workers Advisory Council have been the driving force behind Resolution 55, advancing leadership training, policy development and facilitating a network of young workers groups across the country that provide a place and a voice to young workers to deliver on the goals of advancing social and economic justice.

Resolution 55 resulted in dozens of startup young worker groups across the country; two successful national summits that attracted and engaged hundreds of the most committed young workers, activists and community partners; a Young Worker Leadership Institute that developed deeper skills for young workers to build capacity and run programs in their communities; and an electoral program that reached out to young workers as part of the Labor 2012 Political Program. These young worker groups have worked political programs, participated in direct actions, won legislative victories and begun the important work of establishing mentorship and development programs for a whole new generation of labor leaders. The AFL-CIO must take this opportunity to support their continued growth as they seek to further engage young workers in the efforts to rebuild the labor movement.

Given the dismal state of the economy and the outsized impact it has on young workers, the AFL-CIO must build on the foundation laid by Resolution 55 and commit to an even more robust young worker initiative. Indeed, as union membership among young people continues to decline, it is of paramount importance to the future of the

labor movement that young workers receive support in their efforts to organize and build partnerships to address their unique generational concerns. Therefore, the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions must recognize and support youth-oriented strategic initiatives and partnerships developed nationally, in workplaces, on campuses and in concert with a broad array of like-minded student, youth, advocacy and community organizations to help expand and strengthen the labor movement and build a just economy for all generations.

We therefore commit to:

- Recognize that today's young workers are part of the largest generation to enter the workforce since the baby boomers, that people born between the late 1970s and today also make up the most diverse and technologically savvy generation in America's history; however, young workers suffer the nation's highest unemployment, and have the fewest job opportunities in today's economy. This generation of young workers is active, engaged and ready to reverse economic and social injustice. The continued strength and energy of the labor movement depends deeply on the ability of younger union members to develop into effective labor leaders. A powerful, innovative and global labor movement can be built only through recognition and presence of the full diversity of the workforce, including workers of all ages.
- Recognize that the Young Worker Program will lead a diverse and vibrant young labor movement made up of rank-and-file union members, progressive allies, community groups and students that will advance social and economic justice and ensure that all people have the opportunity to secure a better future.
- Recognize the importance of building young worker programs and policy at all levels of the federation, including national, state and local initiatives.
- Recognize the Young Worker Advisory Council as the "Young Worker Organization" of the AFL-CIO; and that the mission of the Young Worker Organization, as recognized by the AFL-CIO, shall be to *empower the next generation of labor leaders to challenge, inspire, build and organize around issues that directly affect their generation.*

Therefore, be it resolved that the Young Worker Organization shall be the representative of all young workers on the General Board and shall be charged with advising the Executive Council on the education, empowerment, organizing and mobilization of the next generation of union members and young workers. In consultation with affiliate unions, the Young Worker Organization will develop a new process for electing young workers to the Young Worker Organization by February 2014, prior to assuming a seat on the General Board.

And, be it also resolved that the Young Worker Advisory Council will partner with the AFL-CIO State Federation and CLC Advisory Committee to fold young worker

development into state federation and CLC strategic plans, with the goal of tripling the number of local young worker organizations over the next four years.

(End Resolution No. 19)

TRUMKA: I want to thank you, Harold, and I want to thank all of the Resolutions Committee. Great job, pal.

You'll see more of him.

We're going to go a few minutes past 6 o'clock. We're supposed to adjourn at 6 but we have to do a couple of things. We have some special people that are here. They are with their parents; they won't be able to come back tomorrow. So I'm going to do that.

Then we have a special award to give to the Domestic Workers, the Meany-Kirkland Award, and they have to work tomorrow. So, with your indulgence, I'm going to try to get through those two items so that we don't lose both of these important guests.

So now I'd like to call Arlene back to offer a very, very, very special presentation. Arlene.

AFL-CIO ADOPT-A-SCHOOL PROGRAM GRANTS DREAMS OF JOBS AND FREEDOM SCHOLARSHIPS

HOLT BAKER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. This is a very special moment of great joy—the joy that comes of having a dream—and working together to make it real.

On August the 28th we celebrated the 50th anniversary of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. It was the day—yes, we can applaud for that. Jobs and freedom. *(Applause)*

It was the day that Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. gave his historic “I Have a Dream” speech, which accelerated the nation's own march toward social and economic justice, including passage of the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act.

Our demands are the same today as they were when the Reverend Dr. King gave that speech. No different. We need jobs and freedom. But still today, too many of our children who dream of a quality public—public—education sit in terribly under-resourced, overcrowded classrooms while urban school districts close school after school after school. *(Applause)*

It's not enough to march and rally at the Lincoln Memorial. We must take action. We cannot rest, and we will not rest.

So a few short months ago, in February, the AFL-CIO Executive Council authorized two programs to mark that anniversary in a unique and meaningful way. Today we celebrate what those two programs have done. One program is the Dreams of Job and Freedom Scholarship. The second is our Adopt-a-School Program.

Before I go any further, I want to give a very special thank you to the Civil and Human Rights Committee for their hard work, leadership and dedication to making this happen. I also want to honor and introduce the Adopt-a-School Committee that helped with the selection of the public schools.

The committee members: Diann Woodard, School Administrators; Laura Reyes, AFSCME; Lorretta Johnson, AFT; Liz Powell, Postal Workers; Fred Redmond, United Steelworkers; and J. David Cox, AFGE; and the Union Veterans Council. Thank you all. *(Applause)*

We have made it possible for us to provide one-time grants of \$5,000 to 21 public schools in every part of the country. These grants will support teaching, staff and classrooms to help educate young people on the vital connections between workers' rights and civil rights.

On the screen you can see the map of where these schools are.

I would like to now ask María Elena Durazo to return to help us honor the two Los Angeles schools that will receive the Adopt-a-School grant.

María Elena. *(Applause)*

DURAZO: I am very pleased to be able to introduce the two Los Angeles Adopt-a-School grantees. These schools have committed to working with our labor community, to bringing union members into the schools to engage with students and to informing parents about the Adopt-a-School Program. Both schools will specifically use their funds to provide incentives to promote parental engagement and to increase school attendance, academic achievement and citizenship.

I would like to ask a few people to join us up here. These are the teams from the Susan Miller Dorsey High School and from the Miguel Contreras Learning Complex. *(Applause)*

For those who don't know, the Miguel Contreras Learning Complex was named after a man, a farm worker, a labor leader, a trailblazer in Los Angeles, and my late husband. *(Applause)*

From Dorsey, we have Administrator Jeremy McDavid, United Teachers of Los Angeles Chapter Chair Noah Lippe-Klein and student Kalob Houston. I'm going to give the check to Jeremy.

OK. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

And Kalob, would you say a few words, please?

KALOB HOUSTON: On behalf of Dorsey High School, I'd like to thank the Adopt-a-School Program for giving us this generous donation. Thank you. *(Applause)*

DURAZO: And now, from the Miguel Contreras Learning Complex, we have Principal Nova Star Meza, United Teachers of Los Angeles Chapter Chair Philip Busalacchi and student Iranitzi Torres Santoyo.

Iranitzi, how about a few words from you, please.

IRANITZI TORRES SANTOYO: On behalf of Miguel Contreras, I would just like to thank María Elena for her generous donation. Thank you. *(Applause)*

DURAZO: Let's give these schools a round of applause, please. *(Applause)*

HOLT BAKER: Thank you, Sister Durazo, and thank you to the teams from Dorsey High School and the Miguel Contreras Learning Complex.

Sisters and brothers, now let me tell you something about the Dreams of Jobs and Freedom Scholarships. Our affiliates have made a college education within reach for 60 talented high school seniors from families in need, including union members and families in the community. They come from 60 different high schools and will be attending 58 different colleges.

These students had to work hard for their scholarships; it wasn't easy to get one. These were competitive scholarships that required academic ability, social awareness and an appreciation of labor in the face of demonstrated financial need.

The scholarship applicants were judged by a committee of impartial post-secondary educators, put together by our partner, Union Privilege. I can tell you, those judges weren't so jaded by experience that some tears weren't shed over the beauty and depth of feeling they saw in the essays that accompanied the more than 1,627 applications. *(Applause)*

Now I'd like you to take a look at this inspiring video, and you'll see what I mean when I say inspiration.

...The video, "The 2013 Dreams of Jobs and Freedom Scholarship," was presented to the delegation. (Applause)

HOLT BAKER: The power of words. So let me also just read a few excerpts from the thank you notes we received as well. One said, "Thank you so much for this scholarship. It is truly an honor to be recognized by an organization that values hard work and community."

Another said, "My dad lost his job a month ago, and I was unsure if I was going to attend college. With this award, I'm certainly sure I'll be attending college. Thank you again. It means so much to me."

And then there was, "I cannot even explain how big of a help the scholarship will be. This is a true honor and will most definitely help me reach my dream. Thank you for investing in my future. I will work hard to make the AFL-CIO proud and honor the legacy of the Dreams of Job and Freedom Scholarship."

And finally, "Thank you so much for awarding me the scholarship. It is going to get me through my first year of college."

I'd like you to meet two of the students who received these scholarships and are representing all of the scholarship winners. We give them a very special thanks for getting here because they're just starting school, like the other 58. But lucky for us, they are starting school in California.

Our first is Mona Abutouk, who comes from an AFT family and will be attending the University of California, Los Angeles.

Mona. *(Applause)*

MONA ABUTOUK: Hello. I'm absolutely honored to be standing in front of you all today. Fifty years ago, who would have thought that I—the daughter of an immigrant family from Jordan—would be living the American dream? I'm proud to be Jordanian American.

The AFL-CIO is fulfilling the dream I have for our generation—the dream of responsible thinking. By awarding scholarships to young college students like me, the union is fostering education, logic and intellect, which will lead to responsible thinking that can solve our social issues.

Winning this scholarship means so much to me because it will help further my educational goal of getting a degree in biology at UCLA and in the long run becoming a doctor. *(Applause)*

I know I'm still young and have a long and perilous journey in front of me, but being awarded this scholarship has cemented in me the idea that education is, and always will be, my best investment. Education pays.

Now I can breathe a little easier and worry a little less because it is as if a burden has been lifted off my shoulder, because this money will help contribute to the rising costs of tuition fees of college, so that I won't have to cringe every time I see the price of a new textbook.

But more than just helping me out financially, the AFL-CIO has taught me that although we may be strong individuals, nothing is more powerful than unity, community and solution-driven ideas. *(Applause)*

Thank you, AFL-CIO. Thank you, Executive Vice President Arlene Holt Baker. And thank you to all who made this scholarship possible and for believing in sponsoring the future generation. Thank you. *(Applause)*

HOLT BAKER: Next, I'd like to introduce Yoseline Escalante-Buendia. She also comes from an AFT family, and she attends the University of California at Irvine.

Yoseline. *(Applause)*

YOSELINE ESCALANTE-BUENDIA: Hi. My name is Yoseline Escalante-Buendia. I'm excited to be here representing the Dreams of Jobs and Freedom Scholarship. I'm from Berkeley, California, and I will be going to UC Irvine this fall. I will be the first in my family to attend college. *(Applause)*

My mother is a member of the American Federation of Teachers and has worked for the Berkeley Unified School District as a special education instructor for 18 years. *(Applause)*

She's always had a stable job, but raising a family of five is hard, and trying to put a child through college is even harder.

My mom and dad have talked about her going back to school, but she doesn't have the time or the money. And now that I'm going to college, finding a babysitter for my younger siblings will be a struggle.

Most students have to take out loans to go to college, but after my mother lost her house to foreclosure during the recession in 2006, she doesn't qualify for many loans.

There are many problems with today's economy—that's no secret—and it's also not a secret that the people who are at the bottom have very little chance of improving their economic situations. My family has always told me to go to college and get a career so that I won't face economic challenges.

People have many dreams—to be an actress, a singer, the president of the United States and so on—but mine is simply to have the opportunity to make my

aspirations come true. My greatest aspiration is to become a pediatrician, which involves many years of dedication and hard work. Dedication won't be a problem—and neither is going to school for another 10 years—but what will be a problem for me is coming up with the money to do so.

What I ask for is to simply have equal opportunity as a student who comes from a family of doctors, to not be discriminated against because I'm Latino, and to not be looked down on because of my socioeconomic status. I simply want my generation to have equal opportunity to overcome that adversity, economically and socially.

Receiving this scholarship has helped me make my dream come true in many ways. Not only will it allow me to go to college without having to get loans or put pressure on my mother to come up with the money, but it will also give one more student an equal opportunity to succeed. By allowing me to pursue a higher education and get a career, I can prove that dreams can come true for anyone and, perhaps, influence the lives of others that come from similar backgrounds as mine.

Receiving the Dreams of Jobs and Freedom Scholarship is a dream come true, not only for me but other students of my generation, because it shows that equal opportunity is gradually occurring, you just need to search for those opportunities. Thank you. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you so much for being with us today, Mona and Yoseline, and representing the other scholarship winners.

Sisters and brothers, Dr. King knew he would not see his dream realized in his lifetime. Together, we are fortunate to live in the legacy of his dream and to be blessed to see the dream of our Adopt-a-School Program and our Dreams of Jobs and Freedom Scholarship made real. We're blessed to be able to help make the dream of jobs and freedom come true for these young women and men. We expect them to do great things.

Thank you, AFL-CIO, for making it possible. (*Applause*)

2013 MEANY-KIRKLAND HUMAN RIGHTS AWARD

TRUMKA: Let's take a moment to watch a video that I think will be just as inspiring as Arlene's was. Take a look.

...The video, "Welcome Workers" was presented to the delegation.

(Singing of "My Mother Was a Kitchen Girl.") (Standing ovation)

...Chants of "Si, se puede!"

TRUMKA: Sisters, I want to thank you for sharing your song with us and thank you for your inspiration.

It's really an honor to have representatives from domestic workers' organizations from all over the world here with us today. From South Africa, to South L.A.

Now, the annual George Meany-Lane Kirkland Human Rights Award recognizes the efforts of workers' rights advocates in some of the most testing and difficult environments around the world. It recognizes efforts to promote and defend

workers' rights and to put workers' rights squarely in the middle of discussions around human rights, inclusive economics and democracy.

Domestic workers for too long have been ignored or even forgotten. They make extraordinary sacrifices to support not only the families of their employers, but their own families. They work in private homes, away from the public eye, from typical workplaces and, too often, away from the law.

Here in the United States, domestic workers do not enjoy basic protections under our labor laws. The AFL-CIO is proud to have a partnership with the National Domestic Workers Alliance so that together—together—we can fight to defend and expand domestic workers' rights. *(Applause)*

We applaud the actions of domestic workers here in the United States and around the world to have developed innovative ways of organizing and networking. Domestic workers' unions and associations have fought for and won passage of ILO Convention 189, Decent Work for Domestic Workers, and they have gone back home to their home countries and have lobbied their governments for ratification.

Now, we are very, very, very proud to work in partnership with domestic workers in the United States and around the world to build a stronger and more representative labor movement. And we're proud to award the 2013 George Meany-Lane Kirkland Human Rights Award to the International Domestic Workers' Network and to Myrtle Witbooi, the general secretary of the South African Domestic Service and Allied Workers Union, and chair of the IDWN.

Myrtle. *(Standing ovation)*

MYRTLE WITBOOI

General Secretary, South African Domestic Service and Allied Workers Union

Just for a moment, you know when they have the Oscars and they look at it to see if it's real. Just for a moment, I want to lift it up and to say this is for the domestic workers of the world. A tribute to them. *(Applause)*

Brothers, sisters, guests, all that is present here, I know you had a very long day and I know you must be all very tired, but I want to ask you just to listen for a minute to us, and just to listen to who we are and what we want.

The year 2006, FNV of Holland made it possible for domestic workers to come together in Holland. When they got together there, we laughed, we cried, we sang. But we had one thing in common—we all wanted recognition as workers. Myself being a former domestic worker, working for 12 years for the same family, I knew what it was and what we wanted. We wanted freedom. But it was not going to be given to us on a golden platter.

So what happened in 2006, like all good conferences, it gets put away and it's quiet.

The year 2008, the IUF, together again with FNV, made it possible for us to come together in Geneva. In Geneva we then discussed what do we want, how do we see ourselves, why is it that our work is not decent work? What are we doing? We decide to really take the struggle forward. Then, it's the long road, a long journey.

We then form the International Domestic Workers' Network. Like you see with me on the stage, you see all of them. They are all part and this domestic workers'

network was women and it was domestic workers. We decided enough of slavery. We want to free ourselves. But we couldn't do it on our own, we needed the help. There was help in the form of the Solidarity Center, IUF, WIEGO. There were so many people to come forward and offer us the help.

But what is it that we really want? What is it that we want to achieve? We want to be workers like all other workers. *(Applause)*

Then all of a sudden the ILO started the campaign of Convention 189. Now, if you go into the world and you ask a domestic worker about Convention 189, she's going to look at you because she don't know what you're talking about. But if you're going to ask her, "What do you want?" she will start talking. Then you will say that is what we want for all workers.

So together with all the organizations and all the people assisting us, we took this long road to freedom. And slowly but surely the International Domestic Workers became a workforce to be reckoned with. We start bringing in organizations, we start bringing in unions, we start mobilizing women. We start letting them speak out for themselves. It's what you want. What do you want to tell the ILO? What do you want to tell all the governments, what is it that we want?

And then slowly but surely, 2010, 2011, this dream became a reality. Convention 189 was then given to domestic workers. But Convention 189 is paper. This is all paper. Is that what we want as domestic workers? Do we want paper?

The time has come for the world to give recognition to that woman that is getting up every morning, leaving behind our children, leaving behind our family, sometimes some of us is so old we are grandmothers. We still need to come to foreign countries as migrant workers to be exposed, exploited by people like you, like us.

The time has come that this Convention 189 become a reality. But how will we make it a reality? On our own, we cannot do it. We need you. We need all the people together.

Because I can assure you, many of you sitting here today are employers. Many of you sitting here today have us at your homes while you are here. So what are we doing? Are we not contributing to the economy of the country in a silent way by keeping your home safe, your children, while our children is away from us?

So today we are facing reality. In my country we have mobilized, we have fought. Even if I got a democratic country, even if I got a democratic government, they still are employers of domestic workers. So we actually had to sleep in front of the gates of government. We actually had to sit in Pretoria and say, "President Zuma, hear our voice." And it worked. He heard our voice.

But why did we have to do that? Why do we have to remind people and governments about how important we are? Why do we always have to—you know there was in South Africa there was a system that if I get paid, I say, "Thank you, madam." Today I look very smart because I want to be a madam. *(Laughter and applause)*

We always say, "Thank you, madam."

No. I don't want to say, "Thank you, madam. I have worked for you. You pay me." *(Applause)*

There's another thing that we often do. We often hear, "Oh, you know, she's part of the family." I am not part of your family. *(Applause)*

I will never be part of your family. If I'm part of your family, you need to let me sit at your table, and then you get up and you wash the dishes, then I'm part of your family. *(Laughter and applause)*

So this is what I want to say to you. I want to say to you that there is still so much exploitation, there is still so much suffering of the migrant workers, there is still so much work to do. And like I always listen to your president, he always say, "America you must do it."

So what am I going to say to you today here? I know there's a bill of rights, California, a bill of rights that will be debated at the Senate, so please pass it. We're asking you here, we're calling you here, please support the domestic workers.

America, we need to have a union in America. We need to know that America is recognizing domestic workers and giving them the same labor rights that all other workers have. We want it. *(Applause)*

We cannot stand here—and we have the biggest federation—this federation, AFL-CIO. I'm challenging you here today. I might not be alive when it happens, but I'm challenging you, make the domestic workers' of America dreams come true. *(Applause)*

Make them so that they can also have a union that they can enjoy all the labor rights. I plea to all other countries that might be here. Please treat the migrant workers with respect. Treat them, they are women. They left behind their families.

So my appeal to you—thank you so much for letting us. My appeal to you, the struggle is far from over. What do we need to do now? Like these young girls had a dream, I, too, had a dream. Now we have a dream for our children. We want our children also to be educated, but we cannot educate them with the low salary we got. We need a good salary, we need a living wage.

This is what I want: Like Martin Luther King—I want to leave this with you. We also have a dream. 46 years ago I also had a dream. Sitting alone in a back room I had a dream. Today, 46 years later, I'm standing. Our dream for all of us is becoming a reality. But we need you. So support us in the way forward. We need to educate, we need to mobilize, we need to make sure that the domestic workers understand Convention 189.

Only if we make them free, we as women, all of us, can be free. Let us work together.

I want to thank you all. I know I've been off my speech, but this is the way I feel. *(Applause)*

I want to say to you thank you. Thank you. *(Standing ovation)*

So now I want to ask you to join me—to join me and to help us to strengthen the International Domestic Workers' Network. We are so strong, we are going to have a conference in October. We want your voices to be heard there when we take the resolutions. Join us in our conference where we are going to unite the world.

We've chosen Uruguay. The 5th of September, Convention 189 is a law. Nobody can avoid it anymore. We can only put pressure on our governments to bring our national laws into same with the convention. Domestic work is decent work. Slaves no more, but workers just like all of us.

I thank you. *(Standing ovation)*

TRUMKA: I love you, Myrtle. I love you.

I got to tell you, these are my heroes, my heroines. I lobbied in the state of California for domestic worker laws. We sat and we talked. Two of these ladies came up to me and told me that they had started when they were 10 years old, started working with their mother, going out to clean other people's homes and take care of other people.

They told me how they were abused, sometimes physically, sometimes sexually, and how they struggled. And they won our heart.

We finally got a bill out. And when it got to the governor's desk, he didn't quite follow through on everything he said.

I want to promise you something. The labor movement's going to fight with you in not only California but every state in this country to make sure that you have the rights and the protection. God bless you and thank you. *(Applause)*

Now I'm going to call on Liz to give you some announcements before we adjourn today.

WITBOOL: We will ask everybody to just stand and join us in our song, "My Mother Was a Kitchen Girl." And let us hold hands and truly believe that domestic workers are free. Thank you.

...Singing of "My Mother Was a Kitchen Girl." (Standing ovation)

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SHULER: Thank you. Wow! That was quite something.

So, now the moment you've all been waiting for. Please join us right outside this hall for the welcome reception sponsored by the California Labor Federation and its partners.

We also have tonight at 7:30 upstairs in Room 411 the one-man play called "From Wharf Rats to Lords of the Docks," with Ian Ruskin as Harry Bridges.

I want to give you a heads up about two items for tomorrow. First, 7 a.m., bright and early, in Room 403A, join AFT for a breakfast session on their "Reclaiming the Promise Initiative," which I believe Randi will be attending, she'll be holding.

At 7:30 a.m. at Solidarity Stage 2 in the plaza area just outside the hall, there will be a young worker meet-up tomorrow and also on Tuesday and Wednesday. Seasoned members are not invited. Sorry. *(Laughter)*

I want to remind you about the "Workers Lift Up the City: Cut-Out Action" following tomorrow's convention session. The details are online at aflcio2013.org.

The convention is now adjourned until 8:30 a.m. That's when the action starts, so please be here on time. Thank you.

(At 6:38 p.m., Sunday, September 8, 2013, the Convention recessed, to reconvene at 8:30 a.m., Monday, September 9, 2013.)

SECOND DAY

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 2013



MORNING SESSION

The Convention was called to order at 8:31 a.m., Secretary-Treasurer Shuler presiding.

SECRETARY-TREASURER ELIZABETH H. SHULER: Good morning, everyone. Thank you for being here on time.

Let's give it up for the band for greeting us this morning, Enderby. Thank you.
(Applause)

Please take your seats. The convention will now come to order.

Now for our invocation. Are you ready? We are joined by Rabbi Jonathan Klein, executive director of Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice, CLUE, of Southern California; Shakeel Syed, executive director of the Islamic Shura Council of Southern California; and Minerva G. Carcano, resident bishop of the Los Angeles Episcopal Area of the United Methodist Church.

Please come to the dais.

INVOCATION

RABBI JONATHAN KLEIN

Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice

Good morning, and welcome to everyone who's gathering here this morning. We are very excited to join you as a faith community that has had a long history of working together here in Los Angeles. All of us in the faith community have really committed ourselves to partnership to bring about a better, more just, more sacred society. So we are so honored to join you. We pray.

Dear God, we gather as a loving family of justice seekers who are keenly aware of an unjust world. We pray together as more fully developed human beings whose eyes are committed to remaining wide open to the suffering of our neighbors and who shout out and scream, (*addressing convention in Hebrew*), "We will not stand idly by the blood of our neighbors."

You taught us, O God, to put our faith into action, to pray with our feet, to open our hearts, to serve you in truth. While the opponents of compassion may organize against us, let our conviction, our zeal, our love, be a powerful force against their callousness, and may we bring all hands on deck to change the hearts of our opponents so that one day, speedily in our days, every man will stand with dignity, every woman celebrate with song, all of us praising with joy your Holy Name.

(*Addressing in Hebrew*)

Blessed are you, Adonai, our God, ruler of the universe who gives us life, sustains us and brings us together at this auspicious time.

SHAKEEL SYED

Islamic Shura Council of Southern California

In the name of God, the most compassionate, the most merciful and the creator of all of us, we thank you, dear God, and we glorify you for bringing us together for a cause that's greater than all of us.

We ask for your grace, for the delegates and the unions, for our allies and partners, that they remain united in pursuit of the common good. For our brothers and sisters working in factories and in schools, in hospitals and in hotels, may they be driving taxis on the street or flying planes in the sky.

At the time when fairness and equity has become an exception, we ask that you bless us with courage and with steadfastness, to reverse this exception to a norm.

Dear God, we ask that you open the hearts of our politicians and the policymakers, of our business owners and the corporate executives, to look at each worker as a priceless human being and not merely a number and a name.

Dear God, we know that you do not ask for any papers from anyone, but the ungodly people do. We pray that you guide our leaders to fully repair our completely broken immigration system, and they do it today and not tomorrow.

Dear God, grant us your wisdom and empower us to go back to our communities and keep on working and keep on fighting to build a world that shares and that cares for all people. Amen.

MINERVA G. CARCANO

Los Angeles Episcopal Area of the United Methodist Church

And, finally, O Creator God, we thank you for this day of life and pray that we may use it wisely in ways that are pleasing unto you. As these men and women, our brothers and sisters, gather to advocate for and protect the rights of workers who serve across this country, we pray that you would guide them with great wisdom. May their efforts look beyond personal interest to the common good, may they look within their efforts and strengthen their commitment to justice for all workers, men and women workers, young and old, workers of every race and every culture, native-born and immigrant workers.

In a time of ongoing recession, joblessness and underemployment, we come before you, O God, asking that you would give courage to these union leaders that they may speak the word of truth. The truth that there is indeed enough for all of us enough food and enough work and its benefits, enough for all of us if we will but be just and compassionate towards each other.

Out of the work done in these days of this AFL-CIO National Convention, do bring forth courageous leaders who will speak for the right of every person to a job at a living wage, the right of every man and woman to work with the assurance of physical and mental safety, the right of every worker to grow in knowledge in their field and be able to bring their creative ideas to the workplace, and every worker's right to rest and renewal from their labors.

Above all, we pray that we may all be a people of justice, committed to the sacred value and worth of each person above economic profits.

Be merciful, O God, to these, your sons and daughters who labor day in and day

out. Be their comfort. Be their strength. Be their joy on this day and always. Amen and amen. *(Applause)*

SHULER: Thank you for that inspiring start to our day.
I'd like to now call on the vice chair of the Credentials Committee, Fred Redmond, to give a credentials report. Fred.

REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE (Resumed)

VICE PRESIDENT FRED REDMOND, United Steelworkers: Thank you, Liz. Good morning.

Since the Credentials Committee last reported, 39 additional delegates and eight additional delegates whose credentials had previously been approved by the Credentials Committee have registered.

In addition, in the interest of full participation at this convention, the committee has approved the credentials of four delegates whose credentials were received late. The Credentials Committee recommends the additional delegates and alternates be seated. The complete list of delegates and alternates is being submitted for the record at this time.

On behalf of the committee, I move adoption of the Credentials Committee report.

...The motion was seconded by several unidentified delegates.

SHULER: Thank you, Fred.

It is moved and seconded to adopt the report of the Credentials Committee. Is there any discussion?

The chair seeing none, the question is on the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee.

Those in favor of the report, say aye. Those opposed, say no.

The Credentials Committee report is adopted. Thank you, Fred, I appreciate it.

So is everybody ready for another good day? All right. Yesterday we got a good start, and here we are again this morning.

We have important business to take up, and we'll start by hearing from our president, Richard Trumka, and meeting some inspiring workers from the front lines of our movement.

We will then turn to the Committee on Community Partnerships and Grassroots Power and consider a resolution geared toward deepening our relationships with allies and strengthening our movement at the state and local level.

After that, the Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action will present resolutions from our discussion on opening up our movement's doors and large-scale organizing.

Again and again in our pre-convention listening sessions, we heard how important it is for the future of unions and working people to find new ways to broaden and expand our labor movement. As one person said, and I quote, "We will have to change our structures just in order to survive as meaningful working-class institutions. We need a labor movement that can engage all working people."

How we do that is our primary topic for this morning.

To introduce our next speaker, I'd like to welcome one of the emerging leaders in our movement. I'm so proud to see one of our young workers here today, Keith Richardson of APWU, Chicago Local 1.

Keith. (*Applause*)

KEITH RICHARDSON
Postal Workers Local 1, Chicago

Good morning, delegates. My name is Keith Richardson. I'm a clerk in the United States Postal Service and a proud member of the American Postal Workers Union. I also serve my local union as the clerk craft director of the Chicago-area Local No. 1.

Any other Postal Workers in the house? (*Applause*)

Now, if you follow the news lately you probably heard a lot about Chicago, and I bet it hasn't all been good. You probably heard stories of violence among young people, youth that are uneducated, probably about kids that simply don't care.

Well, I've lived in Chicago my whole life and I'm here to tell you a different story, a story where my mother who before me served in her union, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local 743, first as a shop steward and later as an E-Board member, in a city where it's possible that a young, black man like myself with only a high school diploma in hand managed to carve out a niche for myself. How did I do it? I had the support of organized labor.

Organized labor instilled in me that for the value of a fair day's pay you have to earn it, fighting for what you believe in. It's through the union that surrounded me with men and women who care about bringing up the next generation. It's through the union that I'm fortunate enough to have crossed paths with individuals like Secretary-Treasurer Liz Shuler, who with her vision to start the Young Worker program made it possible for me and others to serve on the Young Workers Advisory Council.

It's through the union that I've had the opportunity to get advice and guidance from Executive Vice President Arlene Holt Baker.

I'm fortunate to have been able to have crossed paths with folks like President Jorge Ramirez and Secretary-Treasurer Rob Reiter of the Chicago Federation of Labor who make it possible— and they insist— that young workers be activists and they encourage them to be leaders. With their support, the Chicago Young Workers, of which I'm a founding member, the Chicago Federation of Labor supports us 100%.

How cool is it when my friend and my brother, Eric Clinton, a fellow Young Worker, is already the president of UNITE HERE Locals 362 and 737 in Orlando, Florida? He was already doing a tremendous job in his community but he wanted something more, he wanted to make more of a difference. He recently ran for the central labor council of the Central Florida AFL-CIO and he was successful. And congratulations to Eric. (*Applause*)

And, of course, I'm fortunate for the support of my union, the APWU.

Last, but certainly not least, I'm fortunate to have met the man I have the privilege to introduce to you today, President Richard Trumka. I'm supposed to tell

you a little bit about Brother Trumka, but what can I said that you probably haven't already heard?

I could say that he's a mineworker from Pennsylvania who went on to lead his union through thick and thin.

I could say that he supports the DREAM Act.

I could say that he's been at the forefront in supporting comprehensive immigration reform.

I could say that he's been a champion—no, I could say he's been a warrior—by tackling the student debt crisis that has plagued our youth and their parents.

Yes, I could say all of those things.

Brother Trumka has been vocal against five-day delivery and has stood up for postal workers against the way the postmaster general has tried to dismantle the networks that we Americans rely on daily, and Brother Trumka has supported us in the fight to reform the way the Postal Service pre-funds their pensions so that it doesn't continue to cripple the system.

Brother Trumka is wholly invested in expanding my Chicago, where, no matter what your education level, your race, you can have a chance at a good union job with an opportunity to grow and ultimately retire comfortably to any city within our United States.

He knows the strength and vitality of our labor movement is dependent on the activism of each and every one of us.

I can say that with his hard work, his vision, his fight, it inspires me—and I hope it inspires every one of you—to get up every day, do our jobs well, and work with our union brothers and sisters to build a future that works for all of us.

It is my extreme pleasure and honor, on behalf of my mother, my union, my city and on behalf of all young workers, I give to you the president of the AFL-CIO, Mr. Richard Trumka. (*Standing ovation*)

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

RICHARD L. TRUMKA President, AFL-CIO

Thank you. First of all, thank you, Keith, for that very kind introduction, and thank you more for what you do every day for working people. Thank all of you for being here together and in solidarity.

Now, brothers and sisters, I would like for you to look around this great hall right now. Look at the power represented in this hall.

So the real question for this week is: "What are we going to do with it?" Do we intend to build an American future, a future for the 99%, a future for our children and grandchildren that doesn't just seek to restore the best of our past, but seeks to outdo all that we've done before?

First, let's be very clear about where we are today. You know, we used to say that what made America special was if you worked hard and you did your part, you had a real, real good shot at reaching the middle class, and that the working class was the middle class. You might work in a coal mine or a hotel laundry, but your children could do anything if they worked hard enough.

Now, this is the story of my life. My grandfathers went into the mine hungry. My father helped build our union and fought for our country. Together, with help from our union, my parents and I were able to earn the money to send me to college and to law school.

Now, I talk to a lot of people as I go around the country, as many of you in this hall do. It's clear that something's changed. The truth is, who your parents are—no, really, what your parents have, matters more than it once did. The people I talk to don't say, "I'm in the middle class" so much anymore. They say, "I work, if I can find a job." They say, "Middle class? That's what my parents were."

So what makes somebody middle class in America? Well, a good job, a job that pays a living wage with health care and retirement security. A safe job, a job that leads somewhere. It's that simple. But the working class is not the middle class anymore.

Here's the truth that we live every day. We work harder, we work longer hours, we create more, more goods, more services, more of everything, and yet, most of us earn less. Less than we earned five years ago. Less than we earned 15 years ago. Barely more than we earned 35 years ago.

Our biggest employers, Walmart and McDonald's, well, their whole business model is about keeping the people who work for them poor. Wall Street cheers them on.

But this is a rich country. So where's all the money going? Now, think back over the last 15 years, think of all the work you did, all your members did, all the work your friends and your neighbors and your family did. Now understand that all of the wage increases over all those years, not some, not the majority, not the vast majority, but all went to the top 10%. Incomes of the rest of us, 90% of America, went down. Those who did the best were those at the top already, the top 1%.

Now, this is an America that is upside down. Since 2009, the pay of America's corporate CEOs has gone up nearly 40%. Now, imagine for a second what our country would be like if the ordinary people's income had increased like those CEOs. Think about that. Almost no one would live in poverty.

You see, it's time, my friends, to turn America right side up. (*Applause*)

To turn America right side up, we need a real working-class movement.

If that's going to happen, we, our institutions, have to do some things differently. We must begin here and now, today, the great work of real wakening, a movement of working people, all working people, not just the people in this hall, not just the people that we represent today, but everybody who works in this country. Everyone who believes that people who work deserve to make enough to live and enjoy the good things in life.

Now, we can come together at this convention and shout all day long about how corporations and the rich and Wall Street did this to us; about the Koch brothers and their war on working people; about nasty little conspiracies like the American Legislative Exchange Council; about the Supreme Court and its war on democracy. It's true, there are powerful forces in America today who want our country to be run by and for the rich, forces that have systematically stripped workers of power and pushed wages and benefits down.

But greed and privilege and hate have always been with us.

The question is, what are we going to do about it? You see, we are 13 million strong, and we are today, as we have been since the time of Abraham Lincoln, the biggest, the strongest, the best organized force for economic justice in America. *(Applause)*

But we're a small part of the 150 million Americans who work for a living. See, we can't win economic justice only for ourselves or for union movements. It is just not possible right now. All working people will either rise together, or we will keep falling together.

What is true for America is doubly true around the world. A global economy means all workers in all countries are bound together. Now, think about this. We've always had the same hopes and the same dreams, and now we have the same employers, the same vastly powerful global corporations, the same borderless financial firms, the same union-busting lawyers and management consultants, the same right-wing political operatives. They'll never stop pitting us against each other until we stop letting that happen. *(Applause)*

Shared prosperity around this beautiful world is truly within our grasp, but only, only if we link arms.

We have to start here at home. Because the AFL-CIO and the unions that make up this federation, well, we exist to make real the promise of America for all working people.

If, instead, workers create more and earn less, our children go homeless while housing sits empty. Our bridges fall down while bridge builders sit idle. Then we must ask ourselves, how must we change? How must we reignite our movement? Not so we can have bigger unions, but so we can together make all working people's lives better. *(Applause)*

You see, brothers and sisters, this convention, not me, not the Executive Council, this convention, is the ultimate governing body of the AFL-CIO. It is in our power here in this hall to move forward and to build a movement. A movement strong enough to raise up the values that built this country.

This is America. It's time we value work, not wealth, not greed, but we value work and the people who do that work in this country. *(Applause)*

Four years ago in Pittsburgh, you elected Liz and Arlene and me. And we knew we faced great challenges, but we didn't know how great they would be. We knew we faced rising unemployment, but we didn't know that mass unemployment would still be with us four years later. We knew the Republican Party had become more hostile toward working people. We didn't realize that we'd be facing a concerted effort to destroy collective bargaining and wipe out our unions, all of our unions, private and public sector, in state after state after state.

Though these battles are still raging, we haven't been dealt the death blow that people like John Kasich wanted. In these four years of almost constant battle, we've learned to fight smarter and we've learned to ask more of ourselves. In state after state and city after city, we came together and we beat them back. *(Applause)*

But we didn't win every fight. Our movement as a whole is still shrinking, as it was before anyone had ever heard of Scott Walker or Rick Snyder. So if we're going to

succeed in our great task of lifting up America's working people from a generation of wage stagnation, our labor movement has got to change.

Because the success of our movement is not measured in the members that we organize, or the politicians that we elect. It's measured by the progress of working people, all working people, by the lives we lead, by the hopes and the dreams that we together make real.

So as we approached this convention, we knew that we didn't have all the answers. We thought that we should ask you, the leaders and the activists of our movement, and the working people that we all represent, how should we change? And we wanted to involve everyone who shares our values and cares about what happens to America's workers. So we held hundreds of conversations and listening sessions at every level of the labor movement, with academics and with our friends and with other allies.

One union member put it better than I could. He said, "The working class is not shrinking, it's our wages and benefits that are shrinking."

And another said, "We need a union culture shift that will turn the labor movement back into a movement that fights for the interests of all working people."

Now, we heard that all over America. Workers are organizing in all kinds of different ways, and they call their unity by all kinds of names. Some call it workers' unions, others associations or centers and networks.

We heard that people want to be part of our movement, but it's too hard to join. We have to make sure that we open up our movement for all of those people. You see, the stories of many of the workers that we will meet later—see, we heard that we have to change to reflect the times. That the AFL-CIO merged some 50 years ago, before the jumbo jet, before the cell phone and before the Internet. We need to organize ourselves in ways that fit the jobs the people do now and how our economy works now.

Finally, we've heard we have to make real our unity with action. We have to be able to organize on a large scale for the workplace and in our political life, quickly, efficiently, decisively, and with a strong, strong independent voice.

In everything that we do, we have to join together with our partners and our allies who share our visions and our values for America. An America of shared prosperity. An America where you don't surrender your humanity, your dignity, your rights when you come to work. An America where we honor each individual, while understanding that connecting with each other, supporting each other, solidarity and community are what give life meaning. (*Applause*)

See, my friends, it's time for a new and a stronger movement. What we've done yesterday cannot limit what we do tomorrow. Now is not the time to settle for small steps.

If we're going to move forward, we have to challenge ourselves.

You see, throughout history, the energy and the hopes of young workers have powered progress. If we're going to move forward, we must truly open our doors to the next generation.

If we're going to move forward, we must make our movement and our leadership as diverse as the workforce that we speak for.

If we're going to move forward, we must move forward together, immigrants and the children of immigrants. Politicians and employers want to divide us; they try it every single day. They want to tell us who can be in our movement and who can't, and we can't let them.

You see, our answer to Scott Walker and Walmart and the Koch brothers and every other apostle of greed who seeks to divide us must not just be "No," it must be, "Hell no!" (*Applause*)

If you work for a living in this country, our movement is your movement.

Sisters and brothers, it's time to tear down the barriers, to remove the boundaries between workers. It's time to stop letting employers and politicians and all the others tell us who is a worker and who isn't, who's in our movement and who isn't. Working people alone should decide who is in our labor movement, and that is exactly what we will do. (*Standing ovation*)

In the three and a half days that we'll spend together, we're going to hear workers' voices from around the country and around the world. Brothers and sisters so brave they will bring you to tears.

Now, we have a full agenda of action, of change. As I said yesterday, we set up three special committees just for this convention. We asked rank-and-file workers and community allies and academics to join us. We also set up special committees on resolutions and governance and finance.

We asked members of the Executive Council to lead this work, and we asked a lot. I want to express my thanks to everyone in this hall who served on a convention committee, because we couldn't be where we are today without all of your hard work. So in the days to come, we'll take up resolutions that change the way that this federation works, resolutions that will open our doors and make us stronger and better able to give voice to all working people. Then we'll take up resolutions that will lay out how we'll use the power that we have to build and to make the lives of all working people better.

Everything that we do—everything that we do this week—will be part of a strategy for winning broadly shared prosperity. Because the power to shape the economy is in our hands, right here in this room, because the economy is not the weather. The wealth we make every day can build a future of shared prosperity, but only if we build the bigger, broader movement that can wrest the future from those who seek to simply make the rich richer.

There can be no shared prosperity while 11 million aspiring Americans have no rights. (*Applause*)

There can be no shared prosperity while 20 million people look for work and can't find it. There can be no shared prosperity while politicians terrify our parents and grandparents with threats to cut Social Security and Medicare benefits—the economic security that they have earned. (*Applause*)

There can be no shared prosperity while millions of young men, disproportionately African American, labor in prisons instead of in school or at work. (*Applause*)

There can be no shared prosperity while mayors and governors of both parties close schools and libraries in our poorest communities. (*Standing ovation*)

Shared prosperity means building a country that can compete in the 21st century and lift up nations and people around the world, investing in infrastructure and education and our manufacturing base. *(Applause)*

Shared prosperity means insisting that the rich, the powerful, the privileged and the connected pay their fair share. And it means no more tax deals for companies that outsource jobs. *(Applause)*

Shared prosperity means health care for all and retirement security for all. *(Applause)*

Shared prosperity means sick days for all. Shared prosperity means a global economy built on raising pay for all who labor and an end to trade deals that treat corporations better than people. *(Applause)*

And shared prosperity means an economy built from the middle out, not the top down. *(Applause)*

But hear this: Shared prosperity is nothing but a dream until we have democracy, until we have the right to organize and bargain collectively with employers, until we have the right to vote and have that vote counted, the right to govern together with our fellow citizens and be free of the power of concentrated wealth.

These are the ideas behind each of our convention actions. Yet, these resolutions are nothing more than pieces of paper if we don't change what we actually do.

And that's why I'm asking more of you. Asking more. I'm asking you to take what we say and do, these next few days, take them into your heart. Go home, not satisfied with what we've said, but hungry for action. Hungry for action everywhere you go and in everything you do.

Brothers and sisters, our voices, the voices of everyone who works in every language, must be clear. We build this country. We build this country every single day, and it is time for America to value the work of all workers in this country, from domestic workers to Ph.D.s and everybody in between. *(Applause)*

You see, we do the work of America. We heal the sick, we fight the fires, we build the bridges, we clean the homes, we write the software and teach the children. We mine the iron and coal and forge the steel. We build the trucks and drive the buses. We design, fly, repair and clean the airplanes. We keep the lights turned on and the Internet connected. We keep the trains moving, the water flowing to your tap, and the movies playing in your multiplex theater.

You see, our movement is as old as our nation, and yet, it's as new as the immigrant hotel worker or the apprentice or the new teacher coming to work for the first time.

So at the end of the day, it's on us. It's on us to build a movement, not for the 99%, but of the 99%. *(Applause)*

Not just the 11% that we are now, the 99%. *(Applause)*

More than 50 years ago, Dr. Martin Luther King spoke to the fourth AFL-CIO Constitutional Convention, and he said this to us. He said, "We're confronted by the powerful forces telling us to rely on the goodwill and the understanding of those who profit by exploiting us." He said, "They deplore our discontent, they resent our will to organize, so that we may guarantee that humanity will prevail."

Dr. King didn't hold a union card. He was not a member of any affiliate. But he walked down a line of National Guard bayonets with us, and he died in Memphis

with our union brothers and sisters in the “I Am a Man” strike, summoned by their discontent and their will to organize.

Here’s our question. What about us? What about you and what about me? What about our discontent? What about our will to organize? Are we ready to say, “No more working harder for less”?

Are we willing to say, “No more jobs you can’t live on”?

Are we willing to say, “No more sitting on the bench while our bridges are falling down”?

Are we willing to say, “No more politicians in hock to Wall Street”?

“No more closed classrooms while our country cries for education”?

Are we willing to say, “No more”?

Are we willing to say, “No more”? (*Shouts of “Yes!”*)

You see, it’s time to turn America right side up. It’s time to build the working-class movement that can do it. And here’s what I want you to do. Look around you right now. Ask yourself, where else in America do teachers sit with electricians? Firefighters with actors? Engineers with laborers? Look around you. Because this hall—this hall—is filled with working-class heroes. And all across our country, all across our world, people with the will to organize are ready. They are ready to join us. Together we will turn America right side up. Together, like the courageous members of UNITE HERE at Hyatt hotels who made one of America’s largest companies value their work. Some of them are here. Come on up with me, please. (*Applause*)

Together, like the taxicab workers in New York and dozens of other cities, they said the law says they can’t organize, but they’re building power together every day in the National Taxi Workers Alliance. (*Applause*)

Together, like the brave workers from OUR Walmart campaign, their fight is our fight and together we’ll win. (*Applause*)

Together, with 3 million working men and women of Working America. Together, with our veterans—talk about working-class heroes—here with us today are veterans in the Air Force and the Marines in Iraq. Now thanks to the Building Trades’ Helmets to Hardhats Program, they are plumbers. Together, with our children’s teachers, they serve our country, too, from Head Start to high school. Together with day laborers who are forming solidarity on street corners with domestic care workers, caring across generations and organizing the world. (*Applause*)

Together with the Dreamers, whose struggle for a fair and just immigration has inspired the entire nation. (*Applause*)

Together with AFSCME members who worked to organize the EMTs, strengthening vital public services. (*Applause*)

Together with carwash workers organizing justice for some of the lowest paid in our country, because the American dream lives in all of us. (*Cheers and applause*)

Together with our brothers and sisters, like the Steelworkers working every day for safe and healthy workplaces, like the UAW members fighting to preserve the middle class in manufacturing in America. (*Applause*)

Together with courageous new Americans. Here with us are father and son who fled the violence of Colombia and won U.S. citizenship with the help of the Orange

County CLC. *(Cheers and applause)*

Now they are working to fight for all of us.

Together with young workers like OPEIU members organizing hopes for a new generation. *(Cheers and applause)*

Proud workers like retired mineworkers fighting for a fair and a decent retirement after a lifetime of work. *(Applause)*

Brothers and sisters, I am so proud to stand with the working men and the working women gathered here, and I am honored to serve together with all of you.

Look around you. This is America's soul, this is our future—future as a movement and as a nation. And our challenge, our responsibility, yours and mine, is to join together with millions more like this and build real power, and that is what we will do. We will take back America for the American worker. *(Standing ovation)*

...Chants of "¡Sí, se puede!"

Our job is to create a new working-class movement strong enough to lift all workers in this country. And I just want to ask you, will you do it together?

(Shouts of "Yes!")

Will you do it together?

(Shouts of "Yes!")

Will you do it together?

(Shouts of "Yes!")

You see, the way that we honor these American heroes, brothers and sisters, is not with talk but with action, with innovation, and I know we're ready to get started. So let's give these workers one more round of applause to show them how much we appreciate them. *(Standing ovation)*

OK. Now let's turn to action. You see, the stories of many of the workers that we just met underscore the importance of community partnerships in improving workers' lives. And that's what we'll talk about now, because I'd like to turn to the Committee on Community Partnerships and Grassroots Power.

I noted over many months now that we've been asking people to contribute their ideas and share their experiences so that we can learn from each other and grow our movement together.

See, we charged this committee with developing a strategy to build power at the grassroots level and to engage our community partners in doing so. And we're truly fortunate to have three great leaders chairing the committee, and each of them has broad and deep experience building community partnerships with their unions.

To report on Resolution 16, let me recognize them at mike 1: Randi Weingarten, president of AFT; Jim Bolland, president of the Bricklayers; and Tefere Gebre, executive director of the Orange County Labor Federation.

Randi.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE 3: THE COMMITTEE ON COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS AND GRASSROOTS POWER

VICE PRESIDENT RANDI WEINGARTEN, AFT: Thank you, President Trumka. We are going to do it together?

TRUMKA: Hear, hear!

WEINGARTEN: So Jimmy Bolland, Tefere Gebre and I have been privileged to chair what over the past few months has simply become known as Committee 3. And what we want to do is just scroll down the members of the committee, many of whom are standing behind us, who have contributed to the two resolutions that you have or that you will have before you.

We are proud to have been working with such a broad group of unions and community partners—and we're also proud to be joined by so many of our community members here in the convention hall, and I'm going to ask a couple of them, three of them, in fact, to speak in a moment.

Committee 3 brings two resolutions to this convention. This morning we put before you Resolution 16, "Building Enduring Labor Community Partnerships." And later this week we'll come back to address the issue of mass incarceration, which is crushing large segments of our society, particularly our communities of color, as well as the brutal consequences of a privatized for-profit prison system. That will be later.

Now on building community labor partnerships, I can speak from my own union's experience. I think what Rich wanted us to do is really take what his amazing message was and make it real on the ground every day.

Public education is under assault by those who want for ideological reasons to call one of America's greatest accomplishments, public education for all, a failure. These are people who aren't in education to make a difference, they're in education to make a buck. But with our community allies all across this country, the AFT is fighting back. We are building deep and lasting partnerships, independent partnerships, independently with others, with people in the communities we serve.

Our interests are the same. We're united in a common cause. We are reclaiming the promise of public education to ensure that all our children have the opportunity to dream their dreams and achieve them—to do so in great neighborhood public schools that are safe, welcoming places for teaching and learning.

But it's not just public education that is under assault. As Rich just said, as you live every day, our nation is facing deep divides and deep inequalities.

For the past 30 years, the wealthiest and the most privileged in our society organized in corporations and hedge funds and banks, politics, country clubs. They've created an America in which a child born in poverty is likely to stay poor. They've created a society in which millions work hard but never earn a living wage, never can imagine the American Dream that our grandparents worked so hard to achieve.

Why is this? Because since the 1990s, it's the top 10% who's captured all the income gains in our country. Families in our country face declining wages, a housing crisis and fewer social services, not to mention retirement security. And what does our country offer young people as they join our society as adults? Welcome to a world of low-pay jobs and not enough jobs and plenty of debt.

We've had 30 years of budget cuts and austerity, 30 years of privatizing for the sake of profit rather than for service, 30 years of de-professionalizing our work and rampant union busting. Yet, in this profoundly unequal America, the vast majority of us are in the same boat, and that's what Resolution 16 is all about. These times

require a broad, progressive coalition to turn this country around, wresting the future for a vision of shared prosperity.

These times demonstrate that the struggles of all of us in this room, the struggles of our members, are inexorably linked to the struggles of community. We and community are one.

So Resolution 16 proposes a broader way of programs, initiatives and actions in which labor and community work as partners in the struggle for social and economic justice and for an enduring democracy.

Through partnerships with community, independent entities come together as partners; partnerships built on shared values, partnerships built on strategic analysis, partnerships built on shared power and shared responsibility. Through partnerships with community, we can build a powerful movement to turn around 30 years of failed economic and social policies. *(Applause)*

You think we care about this one, what do you think?

This resolution is about a shared and righteous fight to achieve real economic and social justice and opportunity for all—justice and opportunity at the voting booth and in our legislative halls, justice and opportunity at our schools, justice and opportunity at our workplaces, justice and opportunity in our communities.

So, brothers and sisters, this resolution is about constructing a collective, progressive movement that can build power so we can lift living standards and nurture democracy. A movement that creates an environment that welcomes, not fights, collective bargaining and worker voice. A movement that builds power in the workplace, in our communities and in our ballot box. A movement that builds power so we can lift living standards for all who make America their home, regardless of who you are, who you love or where you live. A movement that builds power to assure that the democratic process is not bought and sold by the highest bidder. A movement, brothers and sisters, a movement that ensures that those in power are deeply responsive to the collective voices of communities.

We seek the day when labor lifts its voice and speaks as a proxy for all working men and women, whose aspirations are like those of the generations before us, whose aspirations are like those of the people we represent today, whose aspirations are nothing short of being enabled to grab hold of opportunity and the American Dream; to live, as Rich said, for shared prosperity, to build from the middle out and not from the top down.

So, as I turn this over to Jim and to Tefere and all of Committee 3, let me just say loud and clear, union and community together, that is our new density. Union and community together, that is our new density.

And let me call on my co-chair, Jim Boland, to address the first part of the resolution. Thank you very much, brothers and sisters. *(Applause)*

RESOLUTION NO. 16

Building Enduring Labor-Community Partnerships

VICE PRESIDENT JAMES BOLAND, Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers: Good morning, brothers and sisters. Welcome, guests, and welcome to California.

I'm proud to be a delegate on behalf of my union, the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craft Workers.

So now Resolution 16, "Building Enduring Labor-Community Partnerships," commits the AFL-CIO to deepening relationships within the community, and we will build ongoing partnerships with our community allies on issues of mutual interest, strengthening our links with the civil rights and social justice community, the religious community, the environmental community, women's rights organizations, worker centers, immigrant rights advocates, the LGBTQ community, retiree organizations and the student and young worker community. Now we pledge to become more of a learning organization at every level, staying in continuing conversation with constituents and allies.

The resolution lays out plans for a new voluntary internship and exchange program that will place union leaders, members and staff at community organizations, and community leaders at state federations and area and local labor councils as interns.

We'll also continue to hold union community leadership institutes and joint training to gather and share best practices. And we commit to develop with community groups a shared economic analysis that we can all use to influence public policy and to mobilize grassroots activists.

We also will create a community of union volunteers, both online and on the ground, that recognizes our members are also active members of the communities. This online community will provide opportunities for union members to volunteer and become activists.

At the same time, we'll work to provide community members opportunities to be represented by unions and to promote collective bargaining and collective action.

Under Resolution 16, we pledge to work vigorously on issues raised by our partners that reflect our shared values. We will work together on a common agenda for full employment and good jobs for all workers and help one another on joint projects and campaigns for social and economic justice.

Because so many issues disproportionately affect people of color, especially women of color, we'll undertake locally targeted campaigns to lift up these groups. We'll also work with the AFL-CIO youth representative and Young Worker organization on shared issues and priorities.

Additionally, at every level of the AFL-CIO we'll work with community partners, affiliates and worker centers to develop a strategy on implementing immigration reform designed to bring aspiring American citizens out of the shadows and assist them in participating in the political process and exercising their workplace rights.

So now I want to turn the program over to our vice chair. He's the executive director of the Orange County CLC. His name is Tefere Gebre.

My good friend Tefere. *(Applause)*

TEFERE GEBRE, Orange County Labor Federation: Thank you, Jim. Thank you, Randi. All the committee members worked day and night to come up with this, what I believe is a great resolution.

So the heart of the AFL-CIO's connection to our communities lies in our state federations and area local CLCs. Enabling them to truly expand and deepen the

partnership will require resources. To make sure our state and local organizations are able to do this work, we will assign a task force of the AFL-CIO State Federation and Central Labor Council Advisory Committee to help identify and disseminate best practices, provide peer coaching and mentoring, and develop criteria for evaluating a community outreach program that was required by the AFL-CIO Executive Council at its February 2013 meeting.

Because every community and every community group is unique, we recognize there cannot be a one-size-fits-all approach to our work. Instead of seeing that as a hindrance, we will celebrate the many possible ways to go about our work.

While the AFL-CIO budget is determined by the Executive Council and affiliated unions, the committee recommends the AFL-CIO prioritize this work and allocate resources to support labor-community partnerships. The committee also recommends several fresh ways to make this possible.

One is establishing a labor-philanthropy fund modeled on the Labor Innovation Fund for Twenty-First Century, or otherwise known as the LIFT Fund, to identify collaborations that could be attractive to funding sources. Another recommendation calls for pooling voluntary union contributions to support labor-community partnerships and establish ways to guide charitable contributions to the United Way toward support of community-based partnerships.

Finally, the committee recommends that a portion of the Solidarity Grants that go to the state feds and CLCs be dedicated to community-labor partnership projects that are well designed and that receive matching funds from philanthropies and other unions.

Now, let me turn this back to our fearless leader, Randi. (*Applause*)

WEINGARTEN: So before we proceed, you know, we are very proud of the work that we have collectively done. And Jim and Tefere and I have spent a lot of time together, and you can see from our excitement about this, but I'd ask the permission of the chair to ask a couple of our community partners to say a few words before this resolution is moved to debate.

TRUMKA: Absolutely.

WEINGARTEN: Thank you.

So, first, I would ask Kim Bobo, who is the director of the Interfaith Worker Justice center, to speak. And then I'd ask Ruben Garcia, who is a professor from the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, to speak. And then third, Terry O'Neill, who is the president of the National Organization for Women.

Our community partners were as engaged as our brothers and sisters within our movement, and we all very proudly present this resolution.

Kim.

KIM BOBO
Interfaith Worker Justice

All religions believe in justice. Interfaith Worker Justice strongly supports this resolution proposed today.

Faith and labor share core values. Do unto others as you would have others do unto you. An injury to one is an injury to all shared value.

Faith and labor want deep relationships. We don't want dial-a-priest, rent-a-collar or perfunctory opening prayer relationships. We want long-term, deep and honest connections. Like Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, we want to go into the fire together.

Faith and labor must tell the truth. We need shared prosperity. The economy isn't working. Thou shall not steal wages. Walmart, to whom much is given, much is expected. *(Applause)*

And workers need these partnerships. Workers don't organize just for money, they organize for respect, for dignity, for God's spirit and presence in their lives. Workers need us to work together.

So today, like a tree that's planted by the water, faith and labor will work together, sharing core values, building deep relationships, speaking the truth and standing with workers. Amen. *(Applause)*

RUBEN GARCIA

Professor, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Good morning and thank you for the opportunity to address you.

I have been so proud to serve on this committee with so many fine union and community leaders and other members of the academic community.

I hope that all the delegates support this resolution, because I think it simply reaffirms what has already been going on in the labor movement for years and, indeed, from the beginning of the history of the movement, and I believe it will continue to go forward in the future.

Labor and community partnerships have been the bedrock of this movement, and you have seen already today in this convention examples of this, and you will see more. And our committee and the listening session showed numerous examples of these community partnerships throughout the country.

The listening sessions also showed a hunger for collaboration on both sides of the labor and community equation. So we saw numerous examples of unions opening their doors to community groups, and community groups supporting union efforts at the bargaining table.

This resolution will take this work to the next level. And as the resolution states, the work must have a scale potency and exuberance that will advance our common cause.

Brothers and sisters, I hope you will support this resolution.

Thank you. *(Applause)*

TERRY O'NEILL

National Organization for Women

Good morning. I am so proud and thrilled to have worked with our longtime friends in the labor movement to produce this resolution.

The war on women is all too real. And it is not just a war on our access to reproductive health care services, it is equally a relentless assault on women's economic security.

Nowadays—yeah. (*Applause*) Nowadays, women participate in the paid labor force at about the same rate that men do. In fact, more than half of women are either the sole or an essential part of their family's income. But women make up two-thirds of minimum wage workers. These are workers who don't have health care, or retirement security, or paid sick days, or equal pay.

As the president of the National Organization for Women, I know that economic justice for women lies in our collective action, not leaning in as individuals, but leaning together to demand good wages. (*Applause*)

Good working conditions, and equal pay for work of equal value.

As partners, the women's movement and the labor movement will achieve our shared vision for economic and social justice.

Brothers and sisters, I urge you to approve this resolution.

Thank you. (*Applause*)

WEINGARTEN: Thank you, Kim, Ruben and Terry.

Finally, before the chair entertains debate on the motion, let me share a little video, or short video, so that you see the kind of work that Ruben was talking about and that many in this room are already doing.

Roll the tape.

...A video presentation was shown to the delegation.

WEINGARTEN: So, Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of Resolution 16.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister Randi.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution 16. Discussion?

The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

JOHANNA PUNO HESTER, AFSCME: Good morning, President Trumka. I am the national president of the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance and an international vice president of AFSCME, representing home care providers for the United Domestic Workers AFSCME Local 3930. (*Applause*)

We believe strongly that we must work with the community. We live in the community, we are the community. In California, we are working with our community partners to make sure that people who are limited-English proficient have access to medical interpreting services they need.

Right now, too many people walk into a doctor's office and can't get good health care because they can't communicate with the doctor.

Imagine being a teenage boy whose 5-year-old brother has fallen ill, and interpreting for your mother who speaks little to no English. Five days of back-to-back visits to the doctors and your brother has died. No one should live with this.

There are many more stories like this and we are working to change that.

We're standing and fighting side by side with our community partners to make sure they have certified interpreters who speak their language and help them access health care. And our partners are helping us make sure those interpreters have good jobs with collective bargaining rights, able to bargain for wages and benefits.

We all need to build more partnerships like this and that is why we support Resolution 16. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

HENRY NICHOLAS, AFSCME: Good morning, Mr. President. I'm a delegate from AFSCME and I am from the birthplace of the American labor movement in Philadelphia, where at this moment both of the major organizations, a part of the national federation of labor, are under attack. Both AFSCME and the American Federation of Teachers are in a war for their lives.

It is not an accident that they've come to Philadelphia. We are working to build a new movement that embodies both the community and organized labor.

We cannot let the labor movement die at the birthplace of this movement. We must use Pennsylvania as a testing ground until we get the change that we seek.

Right now, as we gather here, in Philadelphia last Monday at the Labor Day parade, we had the largest turnout in the history of that movement in the rain that was coming down above your knees, but we were there, nothing was going to stop us.

We call on the labor movement to take this opportunity, not just to talk about the suffering of the people, but to create policies and programs to alleviate the suffering of which we speak. But we cannot do that if the labor movement does not move swiftly now.

We must turn the tide. We cannot continue to go down the road that we're headed. This is the labor movement's defining moment. No greater time than now to take back a voice for working people in America.

Sisters and brothers, when we leave this convention, all of us must go to our churches, our neighborhood organizations, and join hands and let's rebuild this movement.

The next generation depends on us. This is the most important time in our entire lifetime and I'm calling on all of us, let us come together, work together, unite together. Let's build a single movement, both in community and organized labor. No one can stop us now.

Let us start moving now. Thank you so very much.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Henry. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

JANELL HAMPTON, AFT: I am from AFT Local 1603. I teach English. Today I rise proudly in support of Resolution 16, "Building Enduring Labor and Community Partnerships." Resolution 16 embodies the biggest ideal of labor, bringing people together.

Resolution 16 asserts that we will solidly build "ally-ship" between labor and community based on mutual interests and winning collective objectives.

Together with community, we will build powerful momentum towards social and economic justice. Brothers and sisters, Resolution 16 commits to building partnerships rooted in mutual respect, shared analysis and information, and pooled

power. This resolution identifies practical ways to move forward with our community to accomplish our goals.

But it's not limited to internships, common analysis, online volunteer systems and joint trainings. It is also dynamic. Resolution 16 includes flexibility so it can be tailored to serve the identified mutual needs of your communities and your organizations.

There are concrete plans in this resolution, but that flexibility makes it work for all of us. Resolution 16 calls for incentivizing this path forward together, labor and community, moving forward together.

Before I close, I'd like to quickly share some of my own experience in joining labor and community. Wall Street banks used interest rate swaps to bleed my district dry. It has led to the layoff of teachers, cutting hours of staff, decimating services for students and the hurting of communities all over our district.

I looked around at this destitute situation and it was clear as day that the way forward is together with people afflicted by this aggressive swap campaign. With the support of my union, AFT, and the California Federation of Teachers, the Peralta anti-swap coalition came together, brought together faculty, staff, community partners and students. We focused on multiple issues, we moved and executed multiple actions, all towards enduring democracy and towards the crushing of social and economic injustices.

This movement and these actions isn't tiring, it is inspiring. Millions of community members plus millions of laborers cannot be defeated. Together, we move forward, knowing that the biggest change we can make is moving forward together, opening our doors.

Thank you. Support Resolution 16. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

GUILLERMO PEREZ, USW: Good morning. I rise in support of Resolution 16. I'm a proud member of the United Steelworkers. *(Applause)*

I live in Pittsburgh, the birthplace of both the AFL and the CIO.

I rise to speak on behalf of this resolution because, for us as labor activists, we've always been about community. Our activists are not just labor activists, they are community activists. In fact, many of them serve as community leaders in their schools and houses of worship.

Our lifeblood as a movement is collective bargaining. That's what we do. And at the Steelworkers, we are always down for a fight, and we are fighting like hell to maintain our standards.

But we owe it to our active members to broaden this coalition. We are losing our density, we are losing our leverage. The way forward has to be expanding this concept of collective bargaining. We as a movement bargain a social contract in this country, and we cannot bargain it successfully alone. We must have partners, we must be part of a broad, progressive coalition to bring power to working people in this country.

In Pittsburgh there is a lot of talk about how deindustrialization has not devastated us because we've come back, we have a new economy, it's all about eds

and meds. But the jobs in eds and meds are poverty-wage jobs. We are fighting back in Pittsburgh, we are going to organize eds and meds. We are going to restore the middle class in those sectors, but we will not do that without community partners. It won't happen without a deep and broad coalition.

The fight for immigrant rights is a labor fight. The fight for women's rights is a labor fight. The fight against student debt is a labor fight. *(Applause)*

For those of us who are students of labor history, I would just remind you there was a great debate here once, 80 years ago, over the future of the labor movement. There was an argument for something called industrial unionism. It demanded a broad, broad coalition of women, people of color, immigrants, across crafts, across trades, across ethnicities. We came together and built the most powerful movement for social and economic justice the world had ever seen. Let this be the convention where we leave—

TRUMKA: Brother, your time is expired.

PEREZ: —with a new and renewed commitment to do just exactly that again. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: You bet. Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

CAROL LANDRY, USW: Thank you, Brother Chair. I'm an international vice president at large with the United Steelworkers, and I'm also a very proud Woman of Steel. *(Applause)*

I stand in support of Resolution Number 16. Sisters and brothers, I have to ask you, how do you separate the place our members work from the communities in which they live? As a labor movement, our work cannot and should not stop at the plant gate. Sometimes we have to stop and connect the dots and help our members connect the dots.

In the workplace we negotiate good wages, good benefits, health and safety working conditions, and all of these things spill out into the communities in which we live. They support small businesses, which in turn creates good jobs. We pay taxes for our schools and hospitals. And we know that for every good job on a worksite, we have two, three, four indirect jobs in the community.

We also know—and unfortunately we have experienced this—when one of our Steelworker plants goes down, the whole community is impacted and suffers as a result.

But sisters and brothers, we have to dig further into our communities. We have to build more community partnerships, engage and mobilize around grassroots movements and activities.

In our union's hometown of Pittsburgh, we are privileged to do our life's work. We get to fulfill our mission of being trade unionists and answer our calling as community activists in the place where we live and work. We have returned to our roots. We show up for our friends and neighbors when it matters, to keep community hospitals open, to save jobs at bigger hospitals, to provide food and

shelter to the most vulnerable, and to fight for clean, green communities, and community and family-supporting manufacturing jobs.

One such program I want to tell you about this morning is the Breaking the Chains of Poverty program, which is in Pittsburgh's Hill District, a largely African American neighborhood where deindustrialization has left a trail of tragedy and struggle. This program is a partnership between our union, APRI, the local housing authority and other groups. The mission is to provide life skills and job training to minorities to keep them on a path that takes them and their families out of poverty once and for all.

TRUMKA: Sister Carol, your time is expired.

LANDRY: Sisters and brothers, thank you for your support, and I ask everyone to support Resolution 16. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

THO DO, UNITE HERE: Thank you so much. I'm the international general vice president of the proud union UNITE HERE. *(Applause)*

On behalf of our union, I really want to say and register our strong support for Resolution 16. I just want to take a little bit of time to talk a bit about my own experience.

Before I came to the union, I spent 10 years working at a community organization. The last 24 years in the union, I understand the value of labor, community and religious organizations working together for a better, common agenda. *(Applause)*

The majority of my time I spend working with nonunion workers, who so often doesn't have a lot of recourse, the law or the right protected under the labor law. So often we are relying on community and religious community to stand with our workers to be able to beat back entire nonunion campaign.

We also understand in 2004 in my local in San Francisco, where 4,000 of hotel workers locked out from their job, and we won that lockout because of the whole San Francisco community and religious leader organizations standing with our workers and being able to beat back and beat back the lockout. *(Applause)*

In our union, across the country, whether we're in Arizona working in partnership with our community allies, our religious organizations, to take on the anti-immigrant terrorizing of the sheriff under the program of "Adios Arpaio," or in Hawaii, our union is creating a program that is called AiKea, where we work with community allies to keep the jobs, hospital jobs, in Waikiki so that all these millionaire corporations doesn't turn it into condominiums and make fast money.

For all those reasons, we really are here to urge you all, the delegates, to work to vote and really making the Resolution 16 to become reality. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

PIERRETTE "PETEE" TALLEY, Ohio AFL-CIO: Good morning, Mr. Chairman. I'm the secretary-treasurer of the Ohio AFL-CIO and a member of the committee that is bringing forth Resolution 16. *(Applause)*

When public-sector workers in Ohio came under attack in 2011, we all understood that the fight would not be won if labor's voice was the only voice speaking out against Senate Bill 5. And we knew we needed to mobilize beyond our ranks.

We got very quickly that we needed the help of the community—the community who is our family, our neighbors, members of places where we worship, civic organizations, civil rights activists, immigrant rights advocates, environmentalists and retirees. We knew we needed to engage students and young workers—the LGBTQ community and young workers—if we were going to restore the collective bargaining rights that the tea party legislators stripped away.

Sisters and brothers, we didn't need to look further than within our own ranks to our own brothers and sisters who are active members and giving voice within the broader progressive community through the AFL-CIO Young Worker Organization, the union's Veterans Council, and our very strong and effective constituency groups.

This resolution continues to support labor's original bridges to our communities: the A. Philip Randolph Institute, APRI; the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance, APALA; the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, CBTU; the Coalition of Labor Union Women, CLUW; the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, LCLAA; and Pride at Work.

Sisters and brothers, we are the community, the community is us. I urge all of the delegates to support this resolution. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister Petee. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

CHARLES WOWKANECH, New Jersey State AFL-CIO: Mr. Chairman, I'm president of the New Jersey State AFL-CIO, representing 1 million workers. (*Applause*)

I'm also a member of this distinguished committee and a second-generation Operating Engineer.

I'm very proud to be here today to say a few words in support of this resolution. But first I want to congratulate and thank you for your leadership and your vision on this subject, because if we truly are going to grow and survive, this is going to be one of the most important decisions we make in this labor movement.

I wanted to give all of you, all of my brothers and sisters, a couple of tangible, real-life examples of union and community and how it works.

For 13 years in the state of New Jersey, we tried to pass the best form of social insurance called paid family leave and join our brothers and sisters here in the state of California. For 13 years—or 10 years or so—we thought we could do it as the New Jersey State AFL-CIO. But when we got smart and joined with the community in the 13th year, we passed it, and we became the second state in this great nation to have paid family leave. (*Applause*)

Secondly, one of the things our coalition, which is now some three years old and strong, is working on is increased electoral participation in communities which have high numbers of unregistered voters.

In our state's largest city, Newark, New Jersey, over the past six months—working with over 200 community allies—we registered 21,000 new voters that will vote in 57 days from now for the minimum wage bill that's on the ballot after our governor vetoed it.

And lastly, and lastly, one more example that we are also very proud of, with your assistance. We had this operation come to the same city in Newark, it was called Walmart, they spread all the dough around, in the churches, in the communities, and they said you can't stop this.

We got together with over 200 groups and, let me tell you something, we sent Walmart packing. We got a union store there that's not only going to be run union but it's going to be built union, and that's what you do when you work with the community. *(Applause)*

Mr. Chair, Mr. President, if we truly are going to build a workers' movement, then we must act and we must act now and change the direction of social and economic justice for the middle class.

So I raise my voice in support of Resolution Number 16 and I hope and I pray that we honor those workers that stood on the stage with you and we pass this this morning in a unanimous fashion. God bless you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Charlie. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

MICHAEL COMPTON, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers: Mr. President, brothers and sisters, I'm a representative of the IBEW to this great convention.

I rise in support of this resolution but I ask for your consideration of item Number 5, worker centers. I ask that we consider the longstanding tradition of the building trades referral systems and hiring halls and that worker centers not interfere with that process.

I believe the best way to achieve lasting justice is to bring workers at the worker centers into our unions and our trades. *(Applause)*

I ask that you consider this when the discussion of worker centers takes place.

Respectfully, thank you very much.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

The chair, seeing no other discussion, the question is on the adoption of Resolution Number 16. The committee recommends that you vote for Resolution 16.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no.

The motion carries unanimously. *(Applause)*

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 16

Building Enduring Labor-Community Partnerships

THE AFL-CIO HAS AS A FOUNDING IDEAL the assembling of a broad progressive coalition for social and economic justice.

But over the past decade, broad macroeconomic transformations have put communities around the country at risk, threatening the economic security of all and accelerating deep divides and inequalities in our society. These circumstances demonstrate that the struggles of workers are inextricably interwoven with the struggles of communities.

Unions must work hand in hand with community partners and allies to reverse these economic trends and to create opportunities for all while building a robust democratic and participatory society, strong and safe neighborhoods and racial, ethnic and gender equality.

While our unions have a long history of working with communities and that tradition continues today, to achieve our ideal of social and economic justice and an enduring democracy, the relationship between the labor movement and community must have a scale, a potency and an exuberance that can successfully advance our common cause.

For community-labor collaboration to reach such range and strength, our partnerships need to be rooted, dynamic and abiding; and, we must extend the frontiers of our relationships, building upon the values we share. Thus, the AFL-CIO and our affiliates hereby commit to be better partners with community. We pledge to engage in a process of shared analysis with community partners and build programs, support broad and inclusive policies and work to strengthen our democracy based on that analysis. We pledge to work with community partners to educate ourselves and each other on the issues that impact those whom we serve. We pledge to share power and build power together. We pledge to build invigorated organizational structures that are strong, effective, democratic and inclusive. We pledge to be innovative, energetic and committed long-term partners with community.

The AFL-CIO and our affiliates believe that when we build—together with community—this lasting, powerful movement for social and economic justice and an enduring democracy, our collective voice will be heard and our collective purposes will be achieved.

Therefore be it resolved, that the AFL-CIO and our affiliates will:

- Deepen relationships and programs with community;
- Work vigorously on the issues raised by our partners that reflect our shared values;
- Ensure that state federations and central labor councils are well situated to build enduring partnerships with community; and
- Establish ways in which the AFL-CIO can incentivize the development of shared agendas and promote best practices.

To realize these four goals, we commit ourselves to the following:

Deepen Relationships and Programs

1. We commit to being a “learning organization.” The AFL-CIO should be, in effect, an ongoing learning organization, which shall be in constant and continuing conversation with its constituents and allies—unions, state federations, central labor

councils and community partners. State federations and central labor councils should likewise be learning organizations as they develop sustained partnerships with community allies.

2. We will establish an internship and exchange program. The AFL-CIO and our state, area and local bodies shall develop new voluntary internship and exchange programs, where practical, that are open to people of all ages from community organizations and affiliates. Such programs shall create ways for union leaders, members and staff to serve as interns at community organizations and for community leaders to serve as interns at the AFL-CIO and our state, area and local bodies. Lessons learned from this program shall be periodically shared with all AFL-CIO affiliates and participating community groups.

3. We will build a shared economic analysis and advocacy materials. The AFL-CIO shall invite community groups to construct a shared analysis of the current economic climate and to develop an economic agenda consistent with AFL-CIO policy that can be put forward in videos and other materials to influence the development of public policies and grassroots mobilizations.

4. We will hold union-community leadership institutes and joint training. Recognizing that building trust and a united approach can be facilitated by a common training experience, the AFL-CIO hosts union-community leadership institutes. The AFL-CIO will continue to hold such institutes as well as to gather best practices from joint community and labor training initiatives to share with community partners and affiliates.

5. We will recognize our brothers and sisters within the labor movement as our own community within a broader progressive convergence. The AFL-CIO and our affiliates pledge to build ongoing partnerships with our community allies on issues of mutual interest, including but not limited to the civil rights and social justice community, the religious community, the environmental community, women's rights organizations, worker centers, immigrant rights advocates, the LGBTQ community, retiree organizations and the student and young worker community. We recognize the importance of continuing to build and grow partnerships between unions and worker centers. We also appreciate our own diversity and efforts to ensure that we reflect the broad diversity of our membership in our leaders. And we note that within our labor community, we must educate ourselves about our trade union brothers and sisters and their work and engage with each other as grassroots partners. Further, we pledge to support the AFL-CIO's young worker organization, the Union Veterans Council, and the AFL-CIO's constituency organizations as they strengthen our community partnerships and engage our union members in this process. Those constituency groups are the A. Philip Randolph Institute, the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement and Pride at Work.

6. We will create a community of union volunteers to promote and encourage the work of our members. The AFL-CIO will create an online community of union volunteers where union members can share with other union members their experiences. Through this online community, the AFL-CIO will promote the joint identity of many union members—that of trade unionists as well as community activists. The AFL-CIO also will seek to increase opportunities for union members to be volunteers and advocates within the civic and social life of their communities and within community organizations. Further, working with our community allies, we will ensure that there are opportunities for all working people to be represented by a union and to promote collective bargaining and collective action.

Community Issues

1. We recognize that union members, as well as all workers in this country, have faced one of the worst economic downturns in a lifetime. The effects of our lagging economy continue to be felt by workers who are struggling to get back on the job but remain unemployed and underemployed in large numbers. Structural unemployment harms workers and their communities. We will work with community allies and partners on a shared agenda of full employment and good jobs for all workers.

2. We will assist in the development of joint projects and campaigns. The AFL-CIO shall assist in developing joint projects and campaigns among the AFL-CIO and our affiliates and community allies. These joint campaigns will be tailored to each locality and mutual interests will be identified through local analysis. We recognize that often the issues we will tackle may arise from specific circumstances in a community or that a matter may first be advanced by a community partner. As a guiding principle, we dedicate ourselves to joining with our partners in the fight for economic fairness and social equity for all communities and we pledge to pay special attention to efforts to address injustices, disparities and inequalities faced by specific communities or groups of people.

3. We will assist aspiring citizens. The AFL-CIO and our state, area and local bodies, working with community partners, affiliated unions and worker centers, shall develop a strategy to implement immigration reform, which will bring millions of aspiring citizens out of the shadows. The plan shall be developed cooperatively by the AFL-CIO, affiliates and organizations representing immigrant workers, and will take into consideration the labor markets in which they are likely to be employed, the needs of workers in those labor markets and the social and educational needs of the immigrant workers and their families, including affordable health care. In addition, the plan will identify opportunities for these aspiring citizens to participate in the political process and exercise workplace rights in partnership with unions, among other concerns.

4. We will work with community allies to take on issues and undertake campaigns that advance African American, Asian, Latino and other communities of color with recognition that women of color are often disproportionately impacted by these

issues. The AFL-CIO shall develop programs aimed at connecting with communities of color, including joint intensive workshops with community leaders of color on issues of mutual importance such as jobs, education, health care, voting rights, a functioning immigration system and mass incarceration, among others. The AFL-CIO recognizes that Latinos account for more than half of the nation's growth in the past decade and will require new, focused outreach. The AFL-CIO shall also develop strategic communications capacity, including culturally appropriate bilingual materials, and leadership development programs tailored to building connections to communities of color. These efforts will be locally tailored to fit the needs of local labor organizations and their respective allies.

5. We will engage young workers. We will work in conjunction with the AFL-CIO's designated youth representative and young worker organization to take on issues relevant to young workers and coordinate that work with community groups and allies that have youth groups that are working on shared issues and priorities.

Role of State Federations and Central Labor Councils

1. We will expand the union-community leadership Institutes and other forms of joint training and hold them at a grassroots level. The AFL-CIO and its affiliates shall develop training models and best practices on how to identify and map community stakeholders, develop engagement processes, foster deep partnerships and plan and execute mutually designed and implemented campaigns and build effective political programs.

2. We will ensure state federations and central labor councils have support, clear direction and accountability to assist in the building of partnerships with community. The AFL-CIO Executive Council in February 2013 charged that every state federation and central labor council shall develop and implement a community outreach program. To facilitate success in these endeavors, the AFL-CIO shall task a subcommittee of the AFL-CIO State Federation and Central Labor Council Advisory Committee to help collect and circulate best practices and examples, peer coaching, provide mentoring and guidance, develop criteria for evaluating lasting and ongoing community outreach programs and provide other forms of assistance.

3. We will honor the uniqueness of every community and every community group. Recognizing that state federations and central labor councils are established in states and local communities, we acknowledge that there is no "one size fits all" approach. Rather, we celebrate the multitude of ways we can arrive at our shared goal with community of social and economic justice and an enduring democracy.

Incentivizing this Work

To ensure that labor-community partnerships are enduring and not merely transactional, the AFL-CIO, together with affiliated unions, shall energetically work toward proper funding so that those partnerships are properly resourced and that they are structured in a way that advances these goals. The committee recognizes

that a changed emphasis for the AFL-CIO on community partnerships will require that current federation work and resources be prioritized to reflect and address this change. While the determination of the budget is the responsibility of the Executive Council and affiliate unions, the committee recommends that within the federation's budget, the AFL-CIO will allocate appropriate resources, as determined by the officers and the Executive Council, to support these labor-community partnership efforts. Acknowledging the process for resource allocation, we have proposed a number of recommendations, including but not limited to:

1. The AFL-CIO shall establish a labor-philanthropy fund, modeled on the Labor Innovation Fund for the Twenty-First Century (LIFT) Fund, to support labor-community collaborations.

The president of the AFL-CIO is authorized, subject to rules adopted by the Executive Council, to establish the fund so that it does not compete with other labor-philanthropic partnerships and to identify the kinds of collaborations for funding, which may include organizing and issue campaigns, policy fights, joint training and leadership development and combined communications programs, among other activities.

2. The president of the AFL-CIO is authorized, subject to rules adopted by the Executive Council, to establish a mechanism to pool union contributions of those organizations that choose to participate and guide those contributions in a manner that supports emerging and established labor-community partnerships.

3. The president of the AFL-CIO is authorized, subject to rules adopted by the Executive Council, to establish a mechanism to guide contributions of those organizations that choose to participate through the United Way partnership and other programs to community-based organizations that are partners in the struggle for social and economic justice and an enduring democracy.

4. The AFL-CIO president, as part of the federation's overall strategic priorities, shall direct that a significant percentage of Solidarity Grants be used to provide grants to central labor councils and/or state federations based on well-designed grant proposals that include matching funds from philanthropy and/or unions to resource collaborations among unions and community-based organizations.

(End Resolution No. 16)

TRUMKA: Before we move on, I really want to thank the members of that Committee on Community Partnerships and Grassroots Power. And I especially want to thank the chairs for the hard work that they did in bringing everybody together and bringing this resolution forward. Please give them a very, very, very warm round of applause. *(Applause)*

Why, brothers and sisters, do we build deep community partnerships? Well, ultimately it's to give workers and every person in our neighborhoods and our communities the backing to stand up and the opportunity to live together, live better. No effort has come to symbolize that goal more than the campaign by

workers at Walmart—the world’s largest company. I can’t say it any better than they do, so take a look at this video, and I think you’ll agree that these Walmart workers speak for workers everywhere.

*...A video presentation, “Stand Up, Live Better,” was shown to the delegation.
(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Stand up, live better.

Brothers and sisters, our next two resolutions are about bold moves to help workers stand up for better living. And to report on Resolutions 5 and 2, I’m going to call first on Lee Saunders and then on Larry Cohen, co-chairs of the Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action.

María Elena Durazo, vice chair of the committee, is also up here with us. But we’ll start with Lee.

Lee. *(Applause)*

REPORT OF COMMITTEE 1: COMMITTEE ON GROWTH, INNOVATION AND POLITICAL ACTION

VICE PRESIDENT LEE A. SAUNDERS, AFSCME: Wake up out there. You OK? Let’s make some noise. *(Applause)*

All right. You know, the labor movement has always been one of the greatest forces for social and economic justice in our nation. We are built on the idea that those who contribute to America’s prosperity must share in our prosperity—and that’s not happening today. Therefore, our movement must have the wherewithal to strengthen workers’ voices and build workers’ power.

That was the context for the Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action’s work. Now, before I go further, the members of the committee, the union leaders, community leaders and academics, I want to thank them. They put so much time and thought into what we’re about to discuss.

So would the committee members please stand so we can all give them a round of applause. *(Applause)*

It took a lot of thinking and a lot of fresh ideas to get these resolutions to where they are today. So I’d also like to thank the thousands of people across the country and from every walk of life who shared their ideas in the listening sessions.

In those sessions, people opened up about what they’re facing and what they see on the horizon for all workers. They talked about the rising inequality that’s become a feature of American life. They talked about the need for stronger labor laws to protect workers who want to form unions. They shared their concern that the labor movement—as the last line of defense for working families—must be invigorated with new ideas and new energy to be the stronghold it needs to be.

We’ve heard from many workers who want to be part of our movement, whether or not they have a clear path to organizing a union at their workplace. And with this resolution we are saying to all of them: The door is open to you. The Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action worked to shape resolutions to address all of these needs.

RESOLUTION NO. 5

A Broad, Inclusive and Effective Labor Movement

SAUNDERS: The first resolution we'll take up is Resolution 5, "A Broad, Inclusive and Effective Labor Movement."

I'd like to start by reading to you part of it, which I think expresses very well the resolution's goal:

"The labor movement cannot be confined within bargaining units defined by government agencies or limited to workplaces where a majority of employees vote 'Yes' in the face of a ruthless campaign by their employer to deny them representation. The labor movement consists of all workers who want to take collective action to improve wages, hours and working conditions."

Brothers and sisters, this resolution issues the invitation to every worker in the United States to join the movement for economic justice—either through an AFL-CIO affiliate or through Working America.

And to enable people to act on this invitation, this resolution commits the AFL-CIO, in close collaboration with affiliate unions, to expand existing forms of membership and create new ones so that membership is truly open to anyone who wants to be covered who may not be covered by a collective bargaining agreement, part of a union or included in an affiliate's organizing plans. We need to experiment and learn continuously.

Membership, even if it is outside collective bargaining, must be meaningful and include education about workplace rights and assistance if those rights are violated. We will enable Working America to expand and to develop creative forms of workplace representation and advocacy where workers have not achieved collective bargaining. And we will seek to extend benefits through Union Privilege to members who don't have collective bargaining arrangements.

This resolution calls for the AFL-CIO and affiliates to deepen our relationships with worker centers and similar innovative organizations advocating for workers, to explore additional affiliations of these organizations and to assist them with our research and expertise.

It also calls on us to expand our work with campus-based student organizations and advocate on their central issues, such as accessibility of college education and student debt relief, and to recognize that all campus workers, from undergraduates working in the dining halls to professors, have a right to organize and engage in collective bargaining.

The bottom line—the bottom line, sisters and brothers, is that the choice to belong to this labor movement must belong to workers. The freedom to choose to be part of this movement must be a freedom available to every worker.

And to tell us more about what we're doing and what must be done to join this movement in new ways would mean to one group of workers, let me introduce Carlton Smith.

Carlton, where are you? Where is Carlton?

Come on, Carlton. Let's go. Let's go. How are you doing, Brother?

Let's give him a round of applause.

CARLTON SMITH
Walmart Employee

Good morning, sisters and brothers. First of all, I'd like to thank President Trumka and President Saunders for allowing me the opportunity to address the convention delegates and community partners.

My name is Carlton Smith. I'm a husband of 27 years, a father of three, a grandfather of four grandsons and one on the way. *(Applause)*

I'm a 17-year associate of Walmart, Store No. 2110 in Paramount, California. I'm here today to speak out about the injustices that we Walmart associates face daily.

Yes, I've been a member of OUR Walmart since October 2011. Yes, I was the first to go out on strike. Yes, I was one of the first to do an open door at the home office in Bentonville, Arkansas. *(Applause)*

Yes, I participated in the largest strike in southern California. Yes, I called on the head of human resources globally, Ms. Karen Casey, to end retaliation at Walmart's 50th anniversary shareholders' meeting.

Yes, I am the 99%. *(Applause)*

Yes, I am one of the strikers that went to Bentonville for the first-ever prolonged strike.

Yes, I called on head CEO of Yahoo, Marissa Mayer, who sits on Walmart's Board of Directors, to speak out about associates' issues and concerns.

We, as Americans, believe in speaking up when something is wrong, and the freedom to act together to make things right. But when me and my other co-workers came together to protest Walmart's attempt to silence us, Walmart responded by firing and disciplining us. It's wrong for Walmart, America's largest private employer, that made \$16 billion in profit last year, to punish us for exercising our legally protected rights.

For more than a month, we asked the members of Walmart's Board of Directors to tell Walmart to reinstate us fired workers and to remove the unfair disciplinary actions, but they remained silent.

Last Thursday, hundreds of Los Angeles supporters joined me and my co-workers in a nationwide day of protest. Twenty-three Walmart associates and clergy were arrested in the street. *(Applause)*

We called for better wages, affordable health care, sufficient hours, and to end the attempts to silence workers who are standing up and speaking out for better living for our families and to stop the retaliation for doing so.

We should not be fired for striking and for standing up and speaking out, for trying to support our families, and to contribute to our local economies. It's a shame that many of us are struggling just to feed our families.

I am proud to be here today supporting this resolution. It tells me and the rest of OUR Walmart sisters and brothers that we are part of this labor movement by our choice.

Thank you for your support and supporting Resolution Number 5. Thank you and God bless you all. *(Applause)*

SAUNDERS: Give him a round of applause. He's risking everything. He's fighting for what he believes in. Give Carlton a round of applause. (*Applause*)

Now, we're going to go a little off script. We're going to go a little off script, and this is what we're going to do. This is what we're going to do. Now, how many of you know what an altar call is? You know what an altar call is, don't you? We're going to have a little church here this morning, OK?

The altar call is when the preacher turns to his congregation and says that I want you to make some commitments, I want you to make some commitments. So we're going to have our own AFL-CIO altar call right here in this hall this morning. Is that OK? (*Applause*)

We're going to have an altar call to support those Walmart workers. So I'm going to ask you some questions, and I hope you give me the right answer.

Will you march, will you march together, rally together, sing together to support Carlton and his Walmart associates? Will you do that?

(*Shouts of "Yes!"*)

Will you do that?

(*Shouts of "Yes!"*)

Will you organize, will you mobilize, will you educate your communities about the evil policies of Walmart? Will you do that?

(*Shouts of "Yes!"*)

Will you do that?

(*Shouts of "Yes!"*)

Will you join, will you join in solidarity with the Walmart workers in the OUR Walmart campaign in community after community after community across this country to support the Walmart workers? Will you do that?

(*Shouts of "Yes!"*)

Will you stand up? Will you stand up with Carlton? Will you stand up with the Walmart workers? Will you raise a little bit of hell? Will you raise a whole lot of hell to support the Walmart workers? Will you do that?

(*Shouts "Yes!"*)

I didn't hear you. Will you do that?

(*Shouts of "Yes!"*)

OK. OK, church is over. (*Laughter*)

Thank you, sisters and brothers.

You know, in recent years we have seen groups of workers like OUR Walmart workers who won't and don't have the benefits of union membership but nonetheless come together and take collective action to improve their lives and working conditions.

Another model of this involves worker centers. Now, to talk about the labor movement's partnership with one worker center in particular, I'd like to recognize Cristina Tzintzun of the Workers Defense Project, and Richard Shaw, secretary-treasurer of the Harris County AFL-CIO and president of the Fey y Justicia Worker Center. That's in Texas. It's one of the most hostile states, as we all know, one of the most hostile states to organized labor, yet they've been winning significant gains for

construction workers. They are a leading example of the power that we can have when community and labor stand together.

Cristina. Where are you, Sister? Coming up?

Mike 2, OK.

CRISTINA TZINTZUN, Workers Defense Project: Sorry about the confusion, everyone.

Richard and I are working in Texas, and we love organizing in Texas, because if you like organizing, you know you like a fight, and that's what we have in Texas.

(Applause)

We fight for nearly 1 million construction workers that labor in Texas and work in one of the most hostile, anti-union, anti-worker states in the country. And I'm sure everyone knows Rick Perry and that he's been parading around that Texas has undergone an economic miracle.

But the workers that we fight for know that it's been a nightmare for them under his leadership. More workers die in Texas on construction jobs than in any other state. And at its peak, a worker was dying every two-and-a-half days in Texas just two years ago.

And in other parts of the country, construction jobs are good, blue-collar jobs. But in Texas, wage theft is rampant in the industry. And our right-wing legislators are proud of the fact that Texas is the only state in the country that doesn't even require workers' compensation coverage to protect a worker if injured on the job.

Being in a place like this has forced us to be creative and it's forced us to work together and it's proving to be a winning strategy.

RICHARD SHAW, Harris County (Texas) Central Labor Council: Unions and worker centers together have won ordinances at the local level for rest breaks and safety training, legislation at the state level, beating back attacks on prevailing wages and project labor agreements, and we're moving forward with pro-worker policies for wage theft laws and misclassification laws. We're taking on major developers and we're forcing them to the table to sit down with labor and community. Developers like Trammell Crow, Apple Inc. and Marriott. We're raising the floor for all workers and leveling the playing field for union contractors.

Cristina.

TZINTZUN: And the gains we've achieved, I think, are significant for any part of the country, but they're particularly significant for Texas, and we've done that by working together. If we can win these gains in a place like Texas, then we can do it anywhere.

Our strength, we recognize, is in our unity. The fact that we brought union and nonunion, undocumented and documented, black, brown and white workers to stand shoulder to shoulder together, to march together and to fight together—that's the way that we can win.

We want to continue to deepen our relationships. In Texas we work with every building trade in the state and have brought them together and are changing how we work.

We want to continue to deepen our relationships and see Resolution 5 go forward so that we can take back Texas and the country for the workers that we represent.

Thank you.

SAUNDERS: Thanks, Cristina. Thanks, Richard.

One of the people in our listening sessions told us "I would like the AFL-CIO to create an organization that everyone can join." Well, that's what we did with Working America.

Working America is 10 years old. Now is the time to make it as big and bold as America needs. So let's hear from Working America member Silvia Bly, joined by some of her fellow members. Silvia.

SILVIA BLY **Working America**

Thank you. My name is Silvia Bly, and I am a Working America member from Cleveland, Ohio.

I'd first like to say how incredibly wonderful it is to be here with such passionate and kindred spirits. It's rough out there. It's so easy to feel beaten down and overwhelmed. Being here is empowering, and for that, we thank you.

I worked at a manufacturing plant for 13 years, but a new owner bought the company and my office job was outsourced.

I've never been in a union. But I've always wanted to be in a union.

I've seen firsthand what a difference a union can make. The United Steelworkers helped my husband through a shutdown and helped him get the good job he now has.

But good jobs like his are few and far between these days.

I didn't think there was anything I could do about it until a Working America organizer came to my door.

Now I guess you'd have to say I'm a super activist.

I'm talking to my friends and even to total strangers about how we can make things better. I'm working with other budding activists in Cleveland.

I'm excited about the new direction for Working America. We've been organizing working people in their communities, but now we'll start building that community power in workplaces.

We'll use this community power to fight for good jobs and a real democracy. I believe people have had enough.

It all starts when we understand we're all in this together. Here's what I mean.

...A video presentation was shown to the delegation. (Applause)

SAUNDERS: Thank you, Silvia.

Everyone here can build the labor movement. Affiliates are remaking our movement by reaching out to the unorganized in their sectors and building pathways to stronger collective bargaining, and we all should take part and encourage this action. State federations and central labor councils are taking up the

cause, supporting organizing and the public policy campaigns that unite us with our communities. As individuals, each of us can be an everyday organizer by spreading the word about Working America to your friends and family who don't have the benefit of unions in their lives. You can find out more about how by stopping by the Working America booth in the plaza right outside these doors. Start tomorrow's labor movement today.

Brothers and sisters, on behalf of the committee, I move the adoption of Resolution 5, "A Broad, Inclusive and Effective Labor Movement."

The committee recommends and I turn it over to you. OK. Well, what are you sneaking up behind me for?

TRUMKA: Ah, sneak up behind you, OK. Used to be no one could sneak up behind you like that.

The committee recommends that Resolution 5 be adopted.

Is there any discussion?

Before I call on anybody, I see that there's a lot of people lined up at the mikes, and we want to hear from all of you, so if you could be as concise as you can, it would be very much appreciated.

The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

MIKE MULLANE, International Association of Fire Fighters: Mr. Chairman, I'm an international vice president of the Fire Fighters union. I'm also a vice president of the Massachusetts AFL-CIO, and a 43-year member of the Boston Fire Department.

I come from the city of Boston, where when the terrorists attacked, we closed the city down, and union police officers and union firefighters and union EMS took care of that incident. *(Applause)*

There were 18 amputations and 264 people tragically injured, and they were transported by union EMS and every one of them lived. Every one of them lived. It was a remarkable thing—*(Applause)*—by our union. And the site was cleaned up by AFSCME, by members of the AFSCME, City of Boston. *(Applause)*

So we know about union and we know about—we think we are the Working America, the AFL-CIO.

I understand, and I only want to raise some caution, Mr. Chairman. I'm not against the resolution, I just want to raise some cautions, because we know how devious the other side is when it comes to these issues.

We passed a policy here, this is very comprehensive, and I dare say it, I'm only a high school grad, but it was a little difficult to read this morning. I know the leadership has been working on it for some time.

There's some things that need to be—at least when you implement this, when it passes, Mr. President, that you need to look at, you need to be careful of. But I don't speak for the building trades, and I don't speak for—I speak for Fire Fighters only.

But some of the questions that I have is what happens if a union decertifies because they're not happy with their union, their local union, can they join this organization?

That's a question, Mr. Chairman.

TRUMKA: Those questions have been asked and answered at the committee, Brother. This is your three minutes and you have about a minute left.

MULLANE: OK. So we're not going to get any answers here, I guess?

TRUMKA: Go to any of the committee members, they're here.

MULLANE: Well, I wasn't at the committee, Mr. Chairman, I'm here. I'm asking the question.

TRUMKA: Thank you, sir.

MULLANE: I mean, there's a lot of things that—I don't have—this concept is perfect. I don't have no trouble with that. I just think that we need to cautious that—and I know the building trades are here. They can speak for themselves. But I know contractors in Massachusetts and in Boston who will sign up, if they can, for this and avoid paying project labor agreements and other things. We've seen it.

By the way, and I'll finish my one minute with: In Boston we didn't let Walmart in.

TRUMKA: Brother, your time has expired.

MULLANE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

TRUMKA: Thank you, sir. We appreciate you, Brother.
The chair recognizes delegate at mike 2.

JEFF CROSBY, North Shore (Mass.) Labor Council: I'm the president of the North Shore Labor Council in Massachusetts, and also a member of the Communications Workers of America; also, like Mike, a vice president of the Mass AFL-CIO.

By the way, I was on the committee, and my answer to Mike would be, no, we're not going to let scabs come into our organization in any way, shape, or form. *(Applause)*

My labor council has initiated both a worker center and we're building a Working America chapter. So I'm glad for a chance to speak here on Resolution Number 5.

I got a call last week about a friend of mine, a woman named Mariola Perez. She had been picked up for turning right on a yellow light, and has a deportation hearing on the 17th of this month.

She came across the border in Arizona seven months pregnant, and was actually kidnapped in Arizona. Had to get ransom from some gangsters. Finally got to Lynn and works two jobs there now, delivering papers at 4:30 in the morning and cleaning houses to take care of her child, Ernesto, who is now about three-and-a-half years old.

Mariola does not have a union to go to. So that's why we created a worker center in Lynn, Massachusetts, so if she has a problem on the job, or with immigration, or something else, she has somewhere to turn. That's why we're trying to help keep her

in country right now, so she doesn't get torn from the arms of her child.

Now, I don't think there's anybody in this room that has a heart so hard that they wouldn't hear the moral argument that I just made. But I also want to make a pragmatic and practical article in support of Resolution 5.

You cannot raise the roof in the house of labor if the floor is caving in. We have tried exclusion in the past; it has failed us.

My father was a navigator on a B-17 over Germany in World War II in a segregated Army Air Corps.

My grandfather was a member of a union that excluded African Americans until 1964. By the way, excluded them by arms.

The civil rights anti-job discrimination language that finally passed in 1964 was actually originally written by Senator Wagner in the Wagner Act in 1935. It was taken out because the then-AFL said they would withdraw support for the Wagner Act if they did not take that language out.

We have tried exclusion, it has failed. It has brought us to this bitter point in our history.

We need a renewed labor movement. I'm proud to be a part of the committee that worked on this.

TRUMKA: Jeff, I'm going to ask you to close out.

CROSBY: I urge your support. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Jeff. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

ELIOT SIEDE, AFSCME: Mr. Chairman, I'm the executive director of AFSCME Council 5 in Minnesota and international vice president of AFSCME.

I rise to support Resolution Number 5, and specifically, the support and growth of our affiliate Working America.

The resolutions today have a common theme, to make our movement the voice of all workers, not just the voice of our members.

Sisters and brothers, we're in a crisis. Our membership is less than 12% of the American workforce. We must be the voice for the other 88% as well.

We cannot continue to build powerful workers unless we reach out to all workers. Working America is a key mechanism to reach out to all workers.

In Minnesota, Working America has been critical to the fight to push back against the tea party, ALEC, the Koch Brothers and the extreme right.

Working America reaches out to all working people in Minnesota. Working America now has 250,000 members in Minnesota who are workers who do not have collective bargaining relationships with their employers.

Working America canvasses door to door talking to workers about values and issues that bring all workers together, to find what unites all workers in the struggle for human dignity and respect.

Working America tests our polled messages with real conversations, with real workers about the values we share and the issues we care about.

Working America is connected with a broad group of workers who are not currently in unions, but who, given the opportunity, want to connect with the labor movement.

And now AFSCME in Minnesota is talking with Working America about how we can experiment together to reach out to workers as a foundation for organizing the unorganized.

With the help of Working America, we defeated the tea party-run legislature and elected a pro-worker legislature to work with our pro-worker governor, Mark Dayton.

Together with Working America and the quarter of a million workers they reach, we did the following: We raised taxes on the wealthy, increased aid to education from early childhood to higher ed, and froze tuition in public colleges and universities. We increased aid to local governments for the first time in a decade, and we passed legislation for the largest expansion of collective bargaining rights in 40 years so that child care providers and personal care attendants can now organize and join a union.

With Working America Minnesota, sisters and brothers, we are reaching out to all workers to build a voice for all workers. With Working America, we share the message: If there is dignity in all work, why isn't there dignity for all workers? As Paul Wellstone, our late senator in Minnesota, said, "We all do better, sisters and brothers, when we all do better."

Let's support Resolution 5 and support Working America. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

BARBARA BYRD, Southeastern Oregon Central Labor Council: Brothers and sisters, I'm the secretary-treasurer of the Oregon AFL-CIO, and I'm here representing the Southeastern Oregon Central Labor Council.

We're working hard in Oregon to organize right now. We have a leadership group from our affiliates who are helping us figure this out; it's not an easy proposition right now. We have help from the national AFL-CIO's Organizing Department, and we have great help from our longstanding Working America chapter.

But one of the things that we've learned over the last year and a half or so is that traditional organizing efforts are not going to be enough. We've organized cab drivers, we've organized para-transit drivers and Head Start workers, but these are small numbers. To really grow our movement in Oregon, we have got to find nontraditional ways to reach out. We have to look at new organizing models. We need to find partnerships with the community and student organizations and advocacy groups that represent immigrant workers, and we have to find new ways to use the great resources available from Working America.

We think we can do this; our affiliate leaders are ready to help us and guide this program. This resolution is an important first step in this effort, and I urge you all to support it. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

KEN ALLEN, Clatsop County (Ore.) Central Labor Council: I, too, am from Oregon, from the Clatsop Labor Council, and the director of Oregon AFSCME. *(Applause)*

Working America is our most important partner in Oregon for organized labor. They've doubled our density from 125,000 AFL members to 250,000 members. They vote at the same performance levels as our AFL-CIO members. They've made the difference when we've beaten paycheck deception, elected a great U.S. senator and a governor.

More importantly, Working America has now canvassed in our targeted communities. They provided dozens of organizing leads to our unions for successful campaigns. They do more in-depth canvassing. These Working America canvassers are ready to do house calls and become our next generation of organizers.

This is the most important organization that we have to build our movement. It's our organization. How much do we believe in Working America? Our council in Oregon provides enough funding to put out an extra canvassing team year round.

We believe in this group. We hope that you support them. They are going to lead us to a bigger future for our movement. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

JEFF JOHNSON, Washington State Labor Council: Thank you. Mr. Chair, sisters and brothers, I'm president of the Washington State Labor Council, AFL-CIO, and a proud member of AFSCME Local 443. *(Applause)*

I am proud to rise in support of Resolution 5. This resolution helps us to operationalize Resolution 16.

We are at a crossroads. We have the opportunity to go down the path of shared prosperity. It is within our grasp to determine the standard of living for all workers and what our communities should look like, but we cannot do this alone. We must and can only do this by building a broad and inclusive working-class movement. We do this, as President Weingarten said, through building labor and community density.

Resolution 5 describes how we must do everything we can to support Working America, organizing workers into new forms of representation and advocacy. We are working in our state to get a chapter of Working America in place by January of next year.

Also, Resolution 5 talks about how we need to support and expand worker centers to build this working-class movement.

In Washington State, Casa Latina is our worker center. They have been affiliated with us since 2009. I'm proud to say they were the first worker center affiliated with the state federation.

In this short period of time, we've done some great work together. Casa Latina, the labor movement and the building trades passed an ordinance to criminalize wage theft and the misclassification of workers in our largest city of Seattle. *(Applause)*

We passed an ordinance to criminalize wage theft in our largest county, King County. We brought a national CEO of a janitorial company from Tennessee out to

the state of Washington to fire his subcontractor, who was exploiting immigrant janitors in the grocery stores, and to hire another contractor that would follow the rules of the game.

We are now working on a statewide wage theft and misclassification law.

We've worked together with our worker center on comprehensive immigration reform, and I'm proud to say this past August we turned one of those House Republicans needed to pass CIR.

We're working on a Caring Across Generations initiative. This initiative would allow the disabled and the elderly to get the quality care they need with dignity in their homes by well-trained and well-paid home care union workers.

We're working to organize domestic workers in fighting for their full and equal rights under the law.

Sisters and brothers, we will rebuild the labor movement with our community partners so that the working class is restored to the middle-class income, and we will restore the American dream based on the premise that work is valued over profits and greed, and we start down this path by passing Resolution 5. Thank you for your support. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

MARIA SOMMA, USW: Thank you, President Trumka. I am a woman, I am a person of color, I am an immigrant and I am a proud Woman of Steel of the United Steelworkers. *(Applause)*

I feel privileged to be able to stand up here in support of this resolution. This resolution is about workers, all workers. We know that we are stronger together, and it is the bosses' strategy to divide and conquer. We in the union movement know how to battle that plan: by solidarity.

We will be the ones to show the bosses that we will not be divided, that we'll not be pitted against each other. Workers will be united in this country no matter how much they don't want us to be. We in the Steelworkers are partners with Voces de la Frontera in Milwaukee fighting the bosses at Palermo's Pizza, where workers have had their fingers cut off because the bosses don't care about their lives.

We are working with Arise Chicago, working with the car wash workers who have had tens of thousands of dollars stolen from them by the bosses. We are working with CLEAN Carwash in Los Angeles because the bosses don't care about their working conditions. We created the Boston Taxi Drivers' Association because the law says that they are not able to unionize. Well, we are tired of the bosses and the politicians telling us what we can and cannot do.

The members of these organizations have two things in common: they are workers and they are being abused by their bosses. The labor movement has always been there for workers, and this resolution is just another tool that allows us to help the workers.

We want to stand with workers no matter if they are members of unions or members of worker centers. Because, after all, our ultimate goal is for them to be members of both.

We support this resolution, and I ask this body to loudly pass this resolution. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

JOSLYN WILLIAMS, Metropolitan Washington (D.C.) Council, AFL-CIO: Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, Bishop Saunders—*(Laughter)*—I am the president of the Metropolitan Washington Council and a member of AFSCME. *(Applause)*

Mr. Chairman, as I stand here, I wonder what A. Philip Randolph, on the 50th anniversary of the March on Washington, would say about our discussion today. And it occurs to me that his answer would be, "It is about time."

It is about time that this organization recognizes its true mission, and its mission is to bring dignity, not only to the workplace, but to our community. We cannot bring dignity to the community by just thinking that our mission is to bring dignity to those who carry a union card.

America's labor movement is a social movement. It is defined as a collection of many for the benefit of all.

A collection of many, Mr. Chairman, for the benefit of all. Not a collection of many for their own benefit. *(Applause)*

I would remind us that to reject any of these resolutions that the leadership has brought to us would be to fly into the face of what history has defined for us.

Mr. Chairman, I urge us to pass Resolution Number 5, not because it is solely of our own interests, but because it is what we need to do to make America strong. We are a patriotic organization, and to turn our backs on those that are the least among us is for us to be least among the patriots.

Mr. Chairman, I urge passage of this resolution. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Jos. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

LOU PAULSON, IAFF: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm from the IAFF, president of the California Professional Firefighters, vice president of the California Labor Federation, chairman of the "No on Proposition 32" campaign.

Mr. Chairman, we in California are familiar with working with other groups. We understand that. We in the IAFF rise in support of this resolution, but with caution. To be bold and innovative, but also to be an experiment, tells us to lead with caution.

The IAFF has over a third of its members, over a hundred thousand firefighters, today working with no collective bargaining rights, no recognition at the table or by their employer. So we are concerned that as we move forward with this experiment, that we do not undermine the work that we have currently done or that we've been doing since 1918 to organize folks that are unorganized.

We believe partnership is important. We understand the value of it. But we also are concerned, and we recognize that, yes, the floor is caving in for organized labor. And, yes, we do need to be effective, bold and innovative. But we don't want the walls knocked down as we are trying to fix the foundation. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Lou. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

NORWOOD JEWELL, UAW: I'm a regional director with the United Autoworkers. I hail out of the proud city of Flint, Michigan, home of the Sit-Downers, 1936-'37. *(Applause)*

We believe, as our longest-serving president, Walter Reuther, to our current president, Bob King, that we are a social movement. If we truly believe we are a social movement, we understand we cannot do this alone. We must build coalitions, and the best-built coalitions come from those from within.

We need to look to our cities, to our states, and talk with other groups and bring them in. We need to be inclusive, not exclusive. And what's the most important thing that we can do? We need to build power to win justice through politics. We cannot elect candidates and take over the legislature without the help of our communities, without the help of social groups.

It is so vitally important that we grow from within and grow to be inclusive and not exclusive, to where every American feels like they have the support that our members feel like they have from the groups that we represent. While we try to build the coalitions amongst each other, let's reach out and bring in these other groups and be as one.

Brother Chairman, I rise in support of this resolution and urge all the delegates to enthusiastically do so. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

DAVIDA RUSSELL, Ashtabula County (Ohio) AFL-CIO Labor Council: President Trumka and delegates, I am the delegate from the Ashtabula labor federation and the new secretary-treasurer of the North Coast Area Labor Federation, and the state vice president of the OAPSE/AFSCME Local 4, and a very proud member of AFSCME. *(Applause)*

We know the challenges we face in the labor movement because of declining union membership. We must expand in order to have the influence to counter the right-wing forces through our political and legislative campaigns. Working America has been at the heart of the expansion by bringing millions of like-minded citizens and voters into the ranks.

In Ohio, through the Working America voters, we have been better educated and have turned out record numbers, along with union members, supporting candidates and supporting workers and middle-class families. Working America has proven they are the worthwhile Working America time and time again. In the position to help us grow the labor movement, they have knocked on hundreds and thousands of doors through our Senate Bill 5 and SB 194 voter suppression campaign.

I urge all the delegates here to support Resolution 5. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

BHAIRAVI DESAI, National Taxi Workers Alliance: Good morning, President Trumka. I'm with the National Taxi Workers Alliance, and I rise in support of this resolution. *(Applause)*

I'm a little nervous because this is our first convention.

You know, taxi drivers are independent contractors. The reason that I rise in support of this resolution is to say that the millions of workers that we are talking about recognizing are people like taxi drivers or domestic workers or, you know, construction workers, workers who, with no regard of their own, are excluded from the right to organize. There are millions of workers who don't belong to unions simply because the National Labor Relations Act does not recognize our right to stand up for ourselves and have democracy in the shop.

What this resolution does is it says clearly, strongly and loudly that we as a labor movement will define for ourselves when we build a union. We will not let the NLRB, which does not have the moral authority over working people when they have turned their backs on millions of workers throughout history, to be the ones to define whether or not we are a union.

And so for every person in this room who believes that workers define our destiny, we choose our own home. You must stand in strong support of Resolution 5.

Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Sister, I've seen you face down the owners of taxicab drivers and shop owners out on a picket line. I can't imagine you being nervous among your brothers and sisters. *(Applause)*

Seeing no further debate, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 5. The committee recommends that you vote for Resolution 5.

All those in favor of the motion, signify by saying aye. All those opposed, no.

Resolution 5 is adopted. *(Applause)*

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 5

A Broad, Inclusive and Effective Labor Movement

WORKERS REPRESENTED BY UNIONS are part of a broad majority of the American public who seek a better life for hardworking families.

But union members are a minority among America's workers as well as among voters in most elections, and that increasingly has been so for more than a half-century. The popular majority, of which union members are a key part, is fragmented in the face of global corporations and the 1% that controls a vast and increasing amount of wealth and threatens to seize control of our democracy.

The labor movement must be broad and inclusive. The labor movement cannot be confined within bargaining units defined by government agencies or limited to workplaces where a majority of employees votes "Yes" in the face of a ruthless campaign by their employer to deny them representation. The labor movement

consists of all workers who want to take collective action to improve wages, hours and working conditions. Our unions must be open to all workers who want to join with us. The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions must continue to innovate and experiment with new forms of membership and representation to achieve the ultimate objective of assisting all workers to bargain collectively through an affiliated union.

In the last several decades, as immigrant workers have come under attack and been subject to increased exploitation, as public services have been cut and as union representation for purposes of collective bargaining has been difficult to achieve in certain sectors and locations, a diverse group of organizations has emerged to meet the urgent needs and advocate on behalf of the unrepresented, particularly low-wage and immigrant workers. The labor movement must be open to these new forms of worker organization and advocacy and the AFL-CIO and affiliated unions will continue to work with worker centers and other advocates for workers' rights, both to ensure that minimum standards are enforced and to prevent employers from using any workers to undercut the standards we have achieved through union representation and collective bargaining. Our goal is to lift up all workers' standard of living and we can achieve it by working in solidarity.

Students have stood alongside trade unionists at the forefront of every social movement. On campuses across the country, students are organizing in support of workers around the world, from factory workers in Bangladesh to workers at Verizon and Walmart to domestic workers in our own homes. And the labor movement continues to stand with students in support of a first-class system of public education, in defense of their rights of free speech and association and in opposition to a crushing burden of debt. The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions must continue to strengthen our ties to the student movement.

For these reasons:

- The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions should expand existing forms and create new forms of membership to make membership available to any worker who wants to join the labor movement and who is not already covered by a collective bargaining agreement, a member of a union, represented by a union or included in an affiliated union's organizing plan. Many affiliates have created such forms of membership as part of a long-term commitment to help employees of particular private-sector employers obtain the right to bargain collectively, as well as in public-sector jurisdictions where the right to bargain collectively has not yet been established. The AFL-CIO has created another form of membership in Working America. The AFL-CIO will continue to experiment with this form of membership in close cooperation with affiliates and without undermining affiliates' current collective bargaining relationships or organizing plans and with the ultimate objective of enabling workers to obtain representation for purposes of collective bargaining through an affiliated union.

The AFL-CIO hereby invites every worker in the United States to join the labor movement either through an affiliate or through Working America.

To make these new, expanded and open forms of membership meaningful, democratic and self-sustaining, the AFL-CIO, affiliates and Working America shall:

- o Develop forms of workplace representation and advocacy that can benefit members outside collective bargaining by educating them about their workplace rights, providing assistance when their rights are violated, and encouraging concerted action to redress workplace problems and by other lawful means.
- o Seek to extend non-collectively bargained benefits to those members who are not represented for purposes of collective bargaining in cooperation with Union Privilege.
- o Provide members with education, training and leadership development opportunities.
- o Mobilize these new members in electoral and other political efforts and in support of organizing drives and collective bargaining campaigns.

Working America is authorized, in consultation with the president of the AFL-CIO and subject to approval by the Executive Council, to (1) develop forms of workplace representation and advocacy, in collaboration with affiliated unions, that can benefit members outside of collective bargaining (as explained above); (2) adopt a dues structure or structures and/or other financing mechanisms that make this new form of membership self-sustaining, in keeping with the AFL-CIO's historic status as a fully independent trade union movement; and (3) to create a student membership. The president of the AFL-CIO is authorized, subject to approval by the Executive Council, to specify criteria under which Working America members who are not represented for purposes of collective bargaining but for whom Working America pays regular per capita to the AFL-CIO can further participate in the governance of the AFL-CIO, in keeping with the AFL-CIO's status as a democratic trade union movement. The president shall also work with affiliated unions to accomplish these same objectives.

- The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions should deepen their relationship with worker centers and other emerging organizations that advocate for workers who are not covered by a collective bargaining agreement, not union members and not represented by a union in order to better further the common objective of expanding the labor movement and raising workers' standard of living.

To do so:

- o The AFL-CIO should continue and expand its partnerships with national associations of worker centers and its issuance of certificates of affiliation with

state federations and central labor councils to individual worker centers under the terms of the August 9, 2006, Executive Council statement, its Worker Center Advisory Council and its work with foundations to seed union-worker center collaboration.

- o The federation is encouraged to deepen and broaden the connections and collaborations with the worker center movement and work to eliminate concerns about possible undermining of standards established by unions. If that effort leads the president of the AFL-CIO to conclude that a form of local, state or national affiliation not authorized by the policies adopted in 2006 by the Executive Council would be mutually beneficial, supporting and advancing organizing and collective bargaining while also lifting up unrepresented workers, and would further the goal of broadening the labor movement and thereby raising workers' living standards, the president shall, after considering the views of national union affiliates in the sector(s) most affected, and providing all other national union affiliates notice and an opportunity to object, propose the affiliation to the Executive Council for review and approval.
- o The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions should lend their expertise to worker centers as they address the critical issues of economic sustainability and worker participation in the worker centers' own governance.
- o The AFL-CIO, in cooperation with worker centers and national associations of worker centers, should expand and update existing research describing in detail the operation of worker centers and documenting examples of union-worker center collaboration.
- o The AFL-CIO, in cooperation with worker centers and national associations of worker centers operating in specific industry sectors, should work directly with the trade or industrial department of the federation in that sector and appropriate affiliates to provide opportunities for worker center members to become members of such affiliated unions.
- The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions should renew and strengthen their ties to students, recognizing that students have a vital interest in working with union members to ensure that the workplaces they are about to enter are just, fulfilling and rewarding.

To do so:

- o The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions will expand their work with existing, progressive, national, state and campus-based student organizations, including but not limited to, the United States Students Association, United Students Against Sweatshops and Student/Farmworker Alliance, and seek to develop new, more continuous and more mutually beneficial relationships with these organizations.

- o The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions, in cooperation with students and student organizations, will continue to advocate on issues of importance to students ranging from the accessibility of a college education to debt relief and free expression on campus.
 - o The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions will continue to recognize that campuses are both sites of learning and worksites, and that all campus workers, from undergraduates working in the dining halls to graduate teaching and research assistants to professors, have a right to organize and engage in collective bargaining.
- (End Resolution No. 5)*

TRUMKA: Committee Co-Chair Larry Cohen will report the next resolution. Larry.

RESOLUTION NO. 2

Assisting All Workers to Organize

VICE PRESIDENT LARRY COHEN, Communications Workers of America: OK, so this is Resolution 2. It actually fits with the next one, which will be Resolution 1. In our union, I often say that this is hard but not hopeless. Hard but not hopeless. This resolution, “Assisting All Workers to Organize,” and everything we’ve done here this morning fits together.

As we just heard, on the one hand, we have to define what it means to organize. We can’t let the worst labor laws of any democracy in the world—and we have international guests here that could attest to this—hold us back. We can’t let, as Senator Warren said to us yesterday, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, with their 40-year plan, hold us back.

We can’t let Walmart hold us back. We can’t let any of these large employers—understand full well, sisters and brothers, no one here on this committee is saying we turn our back on our age-old fight to make capitalism human. This is not just about forming organizations that anyone can join, but it is about forming organizations that anyone can join.

It’s also about putting every employer on notice, whether a small anti-union construction company or a giant like Deutsche Telekom and T-Mobile USA, or anything in between, that this federation is going to dig even deeper to develop an organizing plan in every union, in every labor council, in every state federation, in every conversation we have with workers, whether they are in our unions or not. That’s why it’s hard but not hopeless.

Because if we focus only on collective bargaining rights and we look at the last four years, as Brother Rich described earlier today, you could easily come up with the conclusion that it is hopeless. Bargaining rights have been under attack, worse than ever, in the last four years.

Whether we’re a public sector or private sector, or industrial or building trades, whether we work in the mines or the mills, these attacks have taken us back to collective bargaining levels not seen since the 19th century in this country, and we’re in the 21st century.

Many of our unions here have tremendous resources, great organizers, amazing members—we're hearing from them all today. We need a combination of that pride and also enormous humility to take us through Resolution 2 and Resolution 1. We can't assist all workers to organize, as this says, somewhat traditionally, if we don't also stand up and fight back like we never have in a hundred years or more against the worst greed, the worst management and clearly the worst U.S. Chamber of Commerce—that this year saw them take on yet a new battle to eliminate the National Labor Relations Board. Make no mistake about it, we would have lost the fight to have three Democrats on that board if that was only our fight. As much work as my union did and others in this room, without the allies at a national level that helped us mobilize 2 million people for all the president's nominees at that time, the eight, we wouldn't have had three Democrats on the NLRB. Yet, we do have three Democrats now on the NLRB. *(Applause)*

We're prepared, with them and with this movement that we're talking about here today, to stand up and fight back and move forward.

Now, this resolution is not about what the federation does, although it is about how the federation provides support. This resolution says that every affiliate here will submit a plan to our brother president about how they'll organize.

Now some will say, "It's too hard. We've been shut down, we've tried to organize, we need to just do political work." Well, the political work, which we'll hear about later this afternoon, is linked to this. It's workers in motion joining new and different kinds of organizations like OUR Walmart, or like the TU. Our organization that we're building is with ver.di, the German union. New organizations without collective bargaining, without rights, but those workers standing up and fighting back and often getting fired—they provide the fuel for us all.

So that's what we're voting on here. We're voting on a resolution that says every one of us, every year—every one of us, every year—every local, every union, every labor council, every state fed will have a plan. Those plans will be turned in to the AFL-CIO.

This means less competition between unions. A share of the Organizing Committee of this federation, I'll tell you, there's still too much of that. It means that there's 80 million unorganized workers in this country; we need a plan to reach them all. Whatever that plan is for each union, we are going to reach out to 80 million workers—not 8,000 or 800,000—but every unorganized worker in this country. *(Applause)*

Now we're going to hear a couple of examples of organizing that are going on, then we'll hear from you.

And I encourage you when you take the mike, talk about what you will do, not what somebody else will do. If you're in a union or a labor council that has not had a plan, there's other unions here that have those plans. The idea is that we will work together, and we'll build the kind of mass movement, a movement of at least 50 million Americans, that can fight for economic justice and democracy.

Now, we're going to hear in a couple minutes—first we're going to see a video—from a group of workers who have rhythm and can dance. Imagine that, if we could all do that. As I told Galen yesterday, my idea of dancing, having grown up in the

'60s and '70s, was that you jump up and down. I wouldn't make it into the Dancers Alliance.

So let's first watch this video, and then we'll introduce Galen Hooks and hear from her.

Roll the video, please.

...A video presentation was shown to the delegation.

COHEN: And now we have Galen with us, and she'll speak more about this campaign, what it means to the dancers, and she herself—this is the third time I've introduced her, by the way, and I've yet to see her dance I told her earlier, so maybe that time will come, too.

An incredibly accomplished dancer and choreographer herself, you can see her work in movies, television, music videos. She's worked with Janet Jackson, Justin Bieber, Usher and Miley Cyrus, among others.

Most importantly for us, she's a trade unionist, the chair of the Dancers Alliance, affiliated with SAG-AFTRA. Galen is at microphone 3.

Hey, Galen, there you are again. *(Applause)*

GALEN HOOKS, Dancers Alliance: Unfortunately, I won't be dancing today, or fortunately for me.

That piece of paper that I was holding, crying about, in that video was a union contract for music videos. For 30 years since their inception, they were nonunion. *(Applause)*

I'm incredibly proud to be representing an example of how this community organizing is actually working. In our case, it's through Dancers Alliance organizing nonunion work into union work, speaking the language of our demographic. By nature, our workforce is young workers; by the time you're 30, your dance career is pretty much over.

So we speak their language by using social media. We use Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, YouTube. Our Twitter has over 10,000 followers for Dancers Alliance. The last event we threw was at a nightclub in L.A. with over a thousand people in attendance from ages 18 to 25, dead silent, in a room listening to me talk about serious issues like health and pension. They actually care because we have gotten them to care.

Our next mission is to organize tours. When you go see a concert and you see Lady Gaga or Beyonce or Madonna performing at a concert, those dancers, singers and musicians who perform with those artists are not covered under a union contract. They deserve a union contract the same way any worker anywhere across the nation deserves a union contract. *(Applause)*

We plan on achieving that by using the exact same out-of-the-box thinking to make sure that all performers, whether union or not, are involved in and empowered by the labor movement. Thank you. *(Applause)*

COHEN: Just one more example before we hear from all of you.

Another strategic focus campaign is AFSCME's campaign to support workers

who are EMTs in private companies. To hear more about that, please welcome Joe Manganello, a paramedic who works for First Responder in Sacramento, and a paramedic at AMR.

I'm not sure where we're going to hear from Joe, but I know he's here.

Mike 2, there you are. Joe, let's hear it.

JOE MANGANELLO, AFSCME: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. I'm actually an EMT for First Responder in Sacramento, California. *(Applause)*

It's a private company that provides medical services to the community.

A month ago my co-workers and myself voted to be represented by AFSCME.

(Applause)

I want to thank President Cohen for allowing me to speak today, and I just want to start out with I love my job, I love helping people, and I'm proud of what I'm able to do in the community by providing this valuable service with my co-workers, brothers and sisters.

I'm also very proud of my co-workers for together, working as a team in everything we do, our job is to save people's lives during medical emergencies, and that can be stressful work at times. We have to make split-second decisions that can make the difference between life and death. And if we couldn't rely on one another, we could not succeed.

We also work together as a team when it comes to improving our work lives. Together we formed a union at work. And I stand here as a proud member of AFSCME, we are proud of that great union, and this is part of a great labor movement.

When we organize, we learn some valuable lessons. I know we can't improve our lives, our wages, our benefits, our job security, our health and safety without a strong union. We know that until workers in our industry are part of a labor movement, we won't succeed.

AFSCME stands arm and arm and beside EMS, emergency medical personnel, and will not rest until all of us have the benefit of a union.

I stand before you today, but there are thousands of us who want to be a part of a union movement who are looking for union support to succeed.

I want to thank you, President Saunders, for making this commitment and supporting us.

We know Resolution 2 is an important part for all workers. Employees want to have a voice and we need you to make organizing a Number One priority. We need to organize every worker in this industry and build power and secure justice. Thank you again. *(Applause)*

COHEN: Thanks, Joe.

So these kinds of plans are what we want to see from all of us, and hopefully we'll hear from many of us now.

I'll just mention that in our union, in most years we're reaching out to 100,000 unorganized workers. And what we talked about, partly as a result of the work of the last six months, is that we will step that up, and whether it's collective bargaining or the kinds of organizing we heard about in Resolution 5, our union will reach

out to over a million workers a year in the five major industry groups where our members are. And that's what we're challenging all of us to do. We have to reach out to more than 80 million workers who don't talk to us right now, and we can do that if we do it together.

Brother President, I turn the podium back to you. The committee wholeheartedly supports this Resolution 2. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 2, "Assisting All Workers to Organize," be adopted.

Is there discussion? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

DAVID HECKER, AFT: Thank you, Brother. I'm president of AFT Michigan, vice president of the AFT, and proud to co-chair our National Organizing Committee, and rise in support of Resolution 2.

At the national level, AFT's Organizing Committee has adopted a number of elements in Resolution 2. We developed strategic priorities aimed at building density by industry, occupation and geography. We developed a best practices model and a training program to help people with it. We've identified opportunities for interunion cooperation and joint campaigns, and we put a great emphasis on community engagement and coalitions.

In Michigan, our successful organizing program is because we also use the elements of our national organizing plan. We do strategic analysis. We target. About 14 years ago, we targeted higher education, and we have organized tenured, non-tenured track faculty, grad assistants at universities and community colleges, thousands and thousands over the last 12, 13 years. We've invested much resources, thanks to our national union, and the state as well. And we collaborated with and gained the assistance of other unions and community.

You know, Michigan is no worker paradise, now being a "right to work" state. But since "right to work" was passed, AFT has organized almost a thousand workers in our state, 800 nontenured faculty at a suburban Detroit community college. And the largest chartered school in the state of Michigan, the Cesar Chavez Academy, is now union. *(Applause)*

We would not have won that campaign at the Chavez Academy without tremendous work with our community partners. We wouldn't have had the depth of support in southwest Detroit if not for the incredible solidarity and support of UAW Vice President Cindy Estrada, without letters of support from UFW President Arturo Rodriguez and co-founder Dolores Huerta, and great work by the Michigan and Metro Detroit AFL-CIO. ~

We need to plan, invest, coordinate and cooperate, and we need to trust each other. That's a big part of solidarity, so we share our plans, help each other, don't duplicate.

The actions outlined in Resolution 2 provide the right approach. We organize, we take back this country. So let's organize. I heartily urge the body to support it. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Dave. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

RON COLLINS, CWA: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Proud CWA member for 32 years.

I rise in support of Resolution No. 2. I personally spent years in the field attempting to organize unorganized workers.

We all know that this isn't working. Every year we get the reports and the American labor movement continues to shrink. If we continue to do the same thing, we're going to get the same results. We must push in the same direction at the same speed at the same time.

All of us see those results year after year after year. And if we don't do something different, we've got to figure out what's going to happen with this American labor movement and what's going to happen to the workers that have a voice, and what's going to happen to the workers and the other community groups that we help and they help us? Everything is at risk.

About 12 years ago I was in the district, CWA District 2, and we recognized the need to form a partnership with the immigrant community and we organized CASA of Maryland. It's a Latino community group based in Silver Spring, Maryland. And today both organizations are still benefiting from that. We work together on each other's issues. *(Applause)*

CWA is currently working with other unions on large-scale organizing.

Sisters and brothers, this can't be just about the numbers of your union increasing. This has got to be about the survival of the American labor movement. *(Applause)*

I ask your strong support for this, and I ask what the other brother said is that we have to work and trust and love each other and we have to move this forward. And it's not just about organized labor and it's not just about union members. It's about taking back this country from the right-wing pigs in this country. *(Applause)*

Mr. Chairman, I stand in support of Resolution No. 2. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Ron. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

TOM CHAMBERLAIN, Oregon AFL-CIO: Sisters and brothers, I'm president of the Oregon AFL-CIO and a proud member of the fighting IAFF.

I stand in support of this measure. We do a lot of things very well and we do some things not so well. We do a really good job in politics, we work together, we pool our resources. But when it comes to organizing, at least at the state fed level, everyone does their own thing. There isn't a lot of cooperation.

Since 2005, the Oregon AFL-CIO and its affiliates have tried to change that paradigm. Coming together over the last two years, we formed a committee that changed organizing in our state. Because we work together, CWA now has 60 cab drivers in a union co-op. Because we work together, AFT has 300 Head Start workers.

You know, when AFT came to the table and said, "We're going after Head Start," AFSCME could have said, "That's our turf." That's not what they said. They said, "Are you ready to go? Do you have the resources and how do we help?"

That's how we change the labor movement and that's why we need a plan for every state fed in every CLC. Because we have a plan, we have card-check, binding arbitration for first contracts at the new convention center hotel for UNITE HERE.

We can change the paradigm as it comes to organizing in this country, but it starts at the grassroots level. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Tom. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

DOUG MOORE, AFSCME: Good afternoon, Brother Chair, sisters and brothers. I'm the executive director of UDW/AFSCME Local 3930 here in California. We represent 65,000 home care providers here, and I'm also an international vice president of AFSCME.

Sisters and brothers, I just have to say it straight, that's the only way I can say it. We can no longer do business as usual if we expect to grow. We can no longer do business as usual if we expect to grow.

The status quo just won't work, it's not going to get it. It's just not going to get it. Our organizing has to be big, bold and inclusive if we expect to grow on a large scale.

We can't afford to be a servicing union anymore. If we expect to grow, we just can't focus on servicing existing members, we have to figure out how to grow our membership.

And in order to do that, we have to be more proactive and commit ourselves to organizing. If we do this, we can organize on a large scale, and I urge all delegates to support this resolution. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Doug. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

BOB LaVENTURE, USW: I'm the District 12 director, United Steelworkers, Southwest, West, Northwest, Alaska and Hawaii.

I rise in support of Resolution Number 2. We just recently negotiated a new agreement with AMR in Rancho Cucamonga, California. We recently organized, with the help of the Oregon AFL-CIO, some emergency medical workers in Astoria, Oregon. We continue to fight to organize the CLEAN Carwash campaign in the city of Los Angeles, and we work with the cab drivers in the city of Las Vegas.

Those without the voice need our voice. They need us to fight for them, and we must do so in a unified manner. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

SOMMA: I rise in support of this resolution and to highlight some of the work that we've been doing. Like all of my brothers and sisters here who have said that we can no longer do business as usual, that is true. So our union proudly supports this resolution.

One of the campaigns that I would like to highlight is the Adjunct Faculty Association, which is an organizing drive that we have done at the Duquesne University located in the proud city of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. But they are adjunct

faculty. We don't think about adjunct faculty sometimes needing a union. But they came to us, they wanted the support, they need the support. They want to organize. Our job, as part of the union and labor movement, is to help them provide that way and that vehicle for strength in their workplace.

So we rise in support of them for all of the adjuncts and the part-time and the temporary employees and the undocumented workers, workers everywhere who want to organize and who will organize if we give them that same opportunity.

Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister Maria. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

VICE PRESIDENT J. DAVID COX, AFGE: Mr. Chairman, I'm president of the American Federation of Government Employees, also vice president of the North Carolina AFL-CIO.

I rise in support of this resolution. Standing beside me today is Hydrick Thomas, president of AFGE Council 100, our transportation security council.

Brothers and sisters, yes, with your help we did it. Our union made the commitment that this resolution talks about. Today, 45,000 transportation security officers are represented by AFGE, AFL-CIO. *(Applause)*

Even more important, because of that commitment, these 45,000 TSOs have the benefit of a union contract negotiated by AFGE, their union.

These 45,000 officers demonstrated why we need this resolution. We began our organizing drive before TSOs had any collective bargaining rights. We signed up over 11,000 dues-paying members in this unit when we did not have recognition, did not have bargaining rights and did not have a contract. We had people with a desire to have a union and be a union member. *(Applause)*

We understood the importance of organizing this whole employer, which in this case is the industry. For AFGE, this meant organizing at every single airport across the United States of America at more than 450 locations.

AFGE could not have accomplished this on our own, brothers and sisters. We needed your help and the support of the state feds and the central labor councils.

And brothers and sisters, please, this resolution, I am calling upon you to support this resolution, which has already proved the success that it can provide, and together working through our state feds, our CLCs and all of AFL-CIO together, we will organize, organize, organize and grow this movement entirely too big to fail. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Is there a delegate at mike 3? Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

CESAR LARA, Monterey Bay (Calif.) Central Labor Council: Good afternoon. My name is Cesar Lara and I'm with the Monterey Bay Central Labor Council.

Anybody in our community that asks what the Monterey Bay Central Labor Council does, this is what I say: We represent 35,000 union members and, more importantly, we represent working families in our area.

When we do the work that we do, we do it in four areas: policy, politics, solidarity and organizing.

In this convention, the work that we did prior to this has set the groundwork for this resolution, Resolution 2.

With the Diversity Conference we had yesterday, with all the work we've done here today, it sets the footprints that many labor councils have already been doing, but it wraps it together, and it says that when we do the work that we do, we do it for working families and our union members.

We should support this resolution, move it forward and work at it. Because, as we know, in this new generation of young workers, of immigrant workers, we at the labor councils, at the state federations, and the AFL-CIO, must bring the voices together for working families.

So I support Resolution 2.

Thank you, President Trumka.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Thank you.

Seeing no further debate, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 2, the committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no.

Resolution No. 2 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 2

Assisting All Workers to Organize

THE MOST RECENT REPORT from the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that the percentage of workers in the private sector who have the benefit of union representation has fallen to 6.6%—a level not seen since before the passage of the National Labor Relations Act in 1935. And public employees' half-century of progress toward equal rights to organize and engage in collective bargaining has stalled. The decades-long decline of union membership and collective bargaining has led directly to increasing levels of income and wealth inequality, has strained the labor movement's resources and has hindered unions' ability to achieve a greater measure of social and economic justice. Unions currently operate in an environment in which they have fewer members in most industries where collective bargaining exists and few members and little bargaining density in growing sectors of the economy.

At the same time, multinational corporations continue to control a greater share of global capital and increasingly set the wages and benefits of workers around the world. Within our own borders, well-financed employer opposition to workers seeking to form unions is brutal and unrelenting and is aided increasingly by politicians operating at the behest of corporations and the wealthy.

Against this backdrop, the labor movement's efforts to assist workers must be commensurate with the obstacles they face. We have demonstrated that we can win

for working families. Well-researched, well-executed strategic organizing campaigns built on the foundation of workers' desire to act collectively to improve their conditions and supported by their communities have proven successful.

We must look forward together, research together, plan together, work together, combine our resources and organize together. We must focus our efforts within communities and industries. We must re-dedicate ourselves to our mission of assisting workers to form unions and engage in collective bargaining.

The AFL-CIO has an important role in promoting, fostering and supporting organizing efforts and should increasingly focus on large-scale and, where appropriate, multiunion efforts. Specifically, the federation should convene affiliates to pursue collaborative strategic organizing initiatives directed at specific industries or sectors and geographic areas. The federation should convene and coordinate large-scale efforts at the request of affiliates that have made significant commitments on their own and, to maximize success and create economies of scale, seek additional union affiliate partners. The federation should promote multiunion, industry or geographically focused efforts where strategic analysis dictates the efficacy of such an approach. The federation should expand and deepen its strategic campaign research capability. And the federation should enhance focus on creative use of policy initiatives at all levels, but especially at the state and local levels, where such initiatives historically have proven successful to assist workers seeking to form unions without employer interference.

National union affiliates are hereby required to submit on a confidential basis organizing plans to the president of the federation beginning on Jan. 1, 2014, and on an annual basis thereafter each Jan. 1. These plans: (1) will include areas of focus, resource commitments, strategies and tactics and projected timeline; (2) will be used to prioritize strategic and material assistance; (3) will be used to identify potential interunion conflicts; and (4) will be used to identify opportunities for multiunion collaboration. The details of this requirement and attendant procedures—including incentives for compliance—will be specified by the president, in collaboration with the Organizing Committee, subject to the approval of the Executive Council.

To promote and foster successful large-scale, multiunion organizing efforts, the president of the federation is authorized to address potential interunion conflicts in advance of their escalation into public disputes. To the extent this authorization requires written policies, they will be developed by the president, in collaboration with the Organizing Committee, subject to the approval of the Executive Council.

The AFL-CIO's Future of Worker Representation Initiative shall continue its investigation of data concerning the evolution of the character of work as well as occupational, sectoral, demographic and geographic projections, and shall issue a report setting forth the findings. The president, in consultation with the Organizing

Committee, shall review the information and produce a set of recommendations for the Executive Council.

As part of their strategic plans, state federations and central labor councils, in conjunction with affiliates, will: (1) develop and implement a state legislative, local ordinance and policy agenda that supports workers' ability to organize; (2) develop political campaign plans that support workers' ability to organize; (3) hold elected officials accountable for their positions on workers' ability to organize; (4) build and execute a political campaign structure to support workers' ability to organize; and (5) improve communication about local and national organizing initiatives and increase support—as appropriate—for such initiatives.

(End Resolution No. 2)

TRUMKA: I'm going to call on Brother Larry Cohen again for a report from the Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action on enacting labor laws America's workers need.

Thank you. Larry.

RESOLUTION NO. 1

Enacting Labor Laws That Address the Needs of All Workers in the United States

COHEN: OK. So this is where this hard versus hopeless sort of really comes in.

So many examples here that I know of, of unions around this room. Cecil, we've talked about the Cannellton miners 10 years ago in West Virginia. Lost their jobs, won the case at the region of the NLRB, they still wait. Or the taxi drivers we heard about.

From our union, there's an example of this struggle that people won't give up. There's a video we're about to see, and in the last few weeks since this video came out, everything in this video was done by these Cablevision workers.

Who's here from Brooklyn, New York? Nobody?

All right, so you guys know about the fight at Cablevision in Brooklyn, right?

Cablevision's owned by a guy named Jim Dolan who's worth \$3 billion he inherited from his father. He owns the Knicks. He owns the Rangers. He owns Madison Square Garden. He owns the Rockettes. He owns Radio City Music Hall.

I want to thank the Musicians union in particular for standing with mostly immigrant and African American workers who are the technicians for Cablevision. You'll see how amazing they are in a minute.

But for me, these workers, incredibly strong, and you'll see this in this video, inspire me on my worst days that it isn't hopeless, because they don't think it is. They voted for a union, our union, two years ago. They're still battling for that first contract.

They call this video and the music with it "Where the Papers At?" And some here are not familiar with hip-hop, although I know even the seasoned people, as we call them, are, this will move a little fast. But even if you don't catch the words, you'll see Dolan playing his guitar and trying to play golf. You'll see that every worker in this video is a cable technician. They wrote every word of this.

Let's roll the video.

...A video presentation was shown to the delegation.

COHEN: Let's hear it for the Tech 22. *(Applause)*

Yeah, that's right, that's as close to that as I'll get, Leo.

So you also saw they were there at the march last week, and it brings this all together. Because there really is no labor law for Jerome, and he is a Musicians union member as well as a tech, plays the trumpet. There is no labor law for Paul or for Gertrude, who chairs that bargaining committee, the daughter of immigrants.

But they know that with the support of this movement and our sisters and brothers around the world, who in many of our campaigns are standing up for our rights as we do as well, that that fight for real rights in this country will go on whether in the private sector for them, whether in the public sector where we've lost ground in the last four years. And this mass movement that we're building will link together these fights. And our allies, whether civil rights, or faith-based, or green, or students, will understand that in this movement we're building, workers' rights guaranteed by law, public sector or private, is a key part of it.

We all remember that the law that would have guaranteed to all fire fighters and correction guards passed the House four times in 2009 and 2010, and because of the Senate rules, never got debated for one second on the floor of the U.S. Senate, despite having bipartisan and overwhelming support.

We all know that many times in recent decades, in a similar way, labor law reform of one type or another passed the House of Representatives and never got discussed for one second on the floor of the Senate, including in 2009 and '10, when the Employee Free Choice Act, that so many in this room did so much for, twice passed the House of Representatives, never got discussed for one second on the floor of the Senate, even though it had overwhelming majority support.

So, again, we see, and that's what this resolution is about—we'll hear the rest of our committee report this afternoon—about the link to political action; that as we fight for workers' rights, we also need to fight for a democracy that links together the rights of immigrants and the rights for all of us here for collective bargaining that would put us in the mainstream of the 21st century global economy and not at the bottom.

So it's with great conviction and passion, Mr. President, that I present to you on behalf of this committee Resolution 1. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 1 be adopted. Is there discussion? Chairman recognizes a delegate at mike 3.

BERNIE LUNZER, The Newspaper Guild-CWA: Newspaper Guild-CWA.

My message is simple. The video said it all too well. We cannot give up on labor law reform.

The Chamber of Commerce doesn't give up. The Koch brothers don't give up. The evil "right to work" organizations don't give up. So we cannot give up on this. Let's not.

Thank you.

TRUMKA: Hear, hear, Brother. Is there a delegate at mike 2? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

VICE PRESIDENT CECIL ROBERTS, United Mine Workers of America: Mr. Chairman, thank you. I'm president of the United Mine Workers of America.

I couldn't let this go by since Brother Larry mentioned it. I'd just like to tell you the story of the miners at Cannelton briefly, if I might. Cannelton Mine was signatory to the United Mine Workers contract probably in the neighborhood of 70 years.

Ten years ago, Cannelton went into bankruptcy, Chapter 7, and a person by the name of Don Blankenship, that most people in this room probably are familiar with, the CEO of then-Massey Energy, bought this company out of bankruptcy.

After 75 years of this operation being unionized, he made it his business to make sure that it would never be union again. He put out applications for employment. Out of the hundreds of coal miners that worked there, Mr. Chairman, 17 were given jobs.

The United Mine Workers of America filed NLRB charges because of his bias against union miners.

We filed old age and discrimination cases against this company and won about \$8 million for these employees. They lost their health care, but the union was able to get their health care back through legislation and negotiations with other employers.

Over the past 10 years of this fight, Mr. Chairman, we know four of these miners will not return to work because they passed away while they waited for justice. Justice will not come to these four families.

As this drags on, this is a complete failure of the system we work under, Mr. Chairman. This system cannot be allowed to continue.

Don Blankenship, if you don't recall the name, also owned the coal mine that exploded in 2010, killing 29 miners. These families are about mourning their loved ones as we gather here today. Don Blankenship is a multimillionaire living in Kentucky, blogging as we speak, about us and about our union.

I just wanted to stand for these miners for a moment, Mr. Chairman. The conviction of these miners of Local 8843 amazes me. They've been to every single rally that we've had fighting for these workers at Patriot. Every single time we look out there, there they are. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Brother Cec, as much as I love you, I have to say your time is up. You need to wrap up.

ROBERTS: I realize that. Let me just say—

TRUMKA: You've got it, Brother.

ROBERTS: —in closing. I want to thank you. But I want to give a special thanks to the president of CWA, Brother Larry, for his fight, for organizing an injustice for the workers in this country.

And thank you and God bless you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

Thank you for all you do and all you stand for.

Further debate?

The chair seeing none, the question is on the adoption of Resolution No. 1. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

Those in favor of the resolution, please signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no. Resolution 1 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 1

Enacting Labor Laws That Address the Needs of All Workers in the United States

ENACTED IN 1935, our nation's basic labor law, the National Labor Relations Act, no longer fulfills its promise to U.S. workers. The law of the land still eloquently declares it "to be the policy of the United States" to encourage[e] the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and...protect[] the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing, for the purpose of negotiating the terms and conditions of their employment or other mutual aid or protection." But the law no longer furthers that policy. Immediately after the law was enacted, millions of workers exercised their newly achieved rights to build the American labor movement and the American middle class, but as the economy evolved and employer opposition became more virulent and sophisticated while the law stood still, that progress stalled and then reversed.

In fact, from its inception, the law left vast numbers of employees outside its protection.

Progress toward expanding the right to organize and bargain in the public sector that began in 1959 in Wisconsin and continued through the 1980s recently has been halted, if not reversed, in the face of a well-funded effort to blame government workers for the fiscal ills of the public sector brought on by the recent recession.

Today, federal labor law no longer fits the economy, the employment relationship or the workplace and, after almost 80 years of practice, employers, aided by the Taft-Hartley amendments of 1947 and a multibillion-dollar industry of "union-avoidance" consultants, have nearly perfected the subtle and sometimes not-so-subtle exercise of the very economic power the act was designed to counterbalance to "persuade" employees to remain unrepresented.

Employers increasingly interpose various forms of intermediaries between themselves and the employees whose labor is essential to the enterprise in order to escape legal obligations to those employees and avoid any duty to bargain with their chosen representative. While exercising control over their livelihood, employers even characterize employees as independent contractors, in an effort to deprive them of the right to organize and bargain collectively.

Twice in the last 40 years, a majority in both houses of Congress and the president have supported labor law reform legislation, but in both cases the reform was blocked by a minority in the Senate through a filibuster or threatened filibuster. More recently, a minority in the Senate frustrated with the National Labor Relations Board's carrying out of its "responsibility to adapt the Act to changing patterns of industrial life," blocked confirmation of members in a deliberate effort to deprive the board of a quorum, casting the protection of workers' rights into a state of legal limbo for a period of almost two years. It took a coalition led by the labor movement to force an end to the obstruction of executive branch administration of not only labor law, but consumer and environmental protection laws as well, clearing the path for Senate confirmation of a full five-member NLRB for the first time in a decade.

The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions together with a broad coalition of progressive allies must embark on a multiyear political and legislative campaign to obtain fundamental changes in our nation's labor laws. The campaign should be founded on the principle that vibrant organizations of working people and electoral and governance reforms are both critical components of economic prosperity and a democratic revival in the United States, and that the former cannot be realized without the latter.

The AFL-CIO urges the introduction of a labor law reform bill in Congress as soon as possible to address the failures of the current law. Labor law reform should remedy employers' increasingly sophisticated and well-funded evasion of the intent of the original act to redress "inequality of bargaining power" and also the growing misfit between the NLRA and the modern economy and employment relationship. The reforms should speak to the critical place of labor organizations and collective bargaining in redressing growing income inequality and the resulting imbalance in our political system.

Specifically, the reforms should ensure that all workers have the right to organize and engage in collective bargaining. The protections of labor law should extend to employees who lack significant supervisory authority; workers who have been classified as independent contractors, but who have no real economic independence from the employers they serve; all government workers; and all agricultural workers. Public safety personnel and others who serve the public and those who labor in the fields should no longer be treated as second-class citizens when it comes to their workplace rights. Reform at the federal level should be coupled with reform at the state and local levels to ensure such comprehensive coverage.

The reforms should ensure that all workers and all employers know their rights and obligations by requiring that all covered employers physically or electronically post a balanced notice describing employees' rights under the applicable labor law as they are required to do under other laws.

The reforms should create a fair process through which workers can exercise their right to "representatives of their own choosing," including permitting access to the

workplace by union representatives so they can speak to workers, requiring more prompt provision of a complete eligibility list, prohibiting compelled attention to campaign speech, expediting elections and routinely remedying interference with a fair election by substituting other, reliable evidence of majority support.

The reforms should guarantee that all workers who choose to be represented enjoy the fruits of that representation in the form of a first contract by providing for supervised bargaining, mediated bargaining and, as a last resort for any remaining issues not otherwise resolved, binding interest arbitration.

The reforms should ensure that the entity that holds the real authority over workers' terms and conditions of employment, even if it is not the workers' direct employer, comes to the table in bargaining.

The reforms should ensure that the National Labor Relations Board, the Federal Labor Relations Authority and all other bodies essential to the enforcement of our nation's labor laws maintain a quorum and are fully able to enforce the law at all times.

The reforms should eliminate the one-way exception to the sweep of federal labor law pre-emption that permits states to adopt so called "right to work" laws that undermine the principle of majority rule, but bars states from creating additional paths to recognition based on majority support similar to those adopted by several states for public-sector employees.

The reforms should create stronger and timelier remedies for unfair labor practices.

The reforms should not simply reaffirm a right to representation and to work under a collectively bargained agreement that is never realized by the vast majority of U.S. workers, but should expressly encourage the exercise of that right and include sufficiently strong substantive changes to make the right meaningful and real for all workers.

(End Resolution No. 1)

TRUMKA: I want to thank you, Larry, and thank the entire Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action, and we'll hear more from them a little while later today.

Now, it's time to hear from our secretary-treasurer, Liz Shuler, for announcements. Liz.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SHULER: Wow. You're still hanging in there. OK. So I have just one footnote and an apology.

Yesterday, when we were announcing the unions in the room, of course, we missed one. The Transport Workers Union, and so, we want to just welcome them

and recognize them right now. Let's hear it, TWU. (*Cheers and applause*)

OK. We see you back there.

For those of you who requested tickets to tomorrow night's ball game, are you listening? If you say, "What did she say?" after I say it, this is the information you're going to need, so pay attention.

The tickets are available for pickup at the registration desk located in the south lobby of the convention center from 1 p.m. to 6 p.m. today, and 7:30 a.m. until 4:30 p.m. tomorrow. You got that?

Buses to Dodger Stadium will start loading tomorrow at the south lobby entrance at 5 p.m. So we look forward to seeing you at the game.

The first action sessions are starting in a few minutes and we have an amazing lineup out there. A lot of people have worked hard on these action sessions, so I hope everyone is ready to attend.

Please be aware that there have been some schedule changes on the action sessions since your program was printed in your convention bags. So one example is "Harnessing History" is actually today, not on Wednesday. So take note.

Aflcio2013.org is the place where you can go for the most up-to-date action session schedule. So if you're confused, just look at that website.

To make sure that you can get lunch when you leave here, you can purchase a special grab-and-go lunch in the exhibit plaza, outside the plaza to the left. So look for lunches there. Food outlets are set up where you can buy the lunch quickly and take it to your action session with you, or you can pick one up after the action session.

I'm going to run through today's action sessions, so it's going to be a very quick barrage of 17 action sessions that are happening right when we leave the hall.

Ready? OK. "Audacity over Austerity: Ten Years of Raising Wages and Workers' Rights in Brazil," that's happening in Room 403B.

"Don't Be a Stranger: Labor-Management Partnerships in the Global Age," Room 402A.

"Expanding the Pie: How Unions Can Partner With Foundations," Room 404A.

"Infrastructure, Jobs and Reducing Emissions: Upgrading Natural Gas Distribution Systems," in 406B.

"Pop Ed 101: Using Popular Education for Social Change" on the Solidarity Stage 2.

"What's Digital Strategies?" Boots Online digital booth is where that's taking place.

"Who is Trying to Steal Our Democracy and What Can We Do to Stop Them?"

That's in Rooms 306A and B.

"Winning for Texas Workers," Room 408A.

"Ask Me About the Future: Young Workers Speak Up!," in Room 403A. I'll be going to that one.

Again, I said "Harnessing History" is happening today.

"Innovative Responses to a Changing Capitalism, in Room 301A.

"Privatization: Collaborative Strategies for Fighting Back," Room 405.

"Anyone Can Join, Everyone Should: Models for Alternative Membership," in Room 402B.

"Power Partnerships: Labor/Community Campaigns That Build Worker Power," Room 308A and B.

"Art and Activism 101: The Creative Power of Arts and Culture as a Catalyst for Action," that's on Solidarity Stage 1.

"Deepening Faith Engagement: Best Practices for Collaboration," in Room 406A.

"Gearing Up for the Fall Budget Battles," Room 408B.

"Lessons from the State Battles," Room 404B.

The convention is now recessed until 2:30 p.m. sharp. We will start promptly at 2:30, so please be here on time.

Thank you so much, and enjoy your lunch and action sessions.

(At 12:03 p.m., the convention recessed, to reconvene at 2:30 p.m.)

SECOND DAY

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 2013



AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention reconvened at 2:30 p.m., President Trumka presiding.

PRESIDENT RICHARD L. TRUMKA: Good afternoon, brothers and sisters. The convention will now come to order.

At lunchtime today in the South Hall lobby around 12:30, a sister was helping someone during a medical emergency and another person accidentally picked up her purse.

Now, our Good Samaritan would be very, very grateful if the purse could be delivered back to her as soon as possible to the convention registration booth in the South Hall lobby. OK? Thank you.

This afternoon we'll discuss the political program of the AFL-CIO, and we'll start it off by recognizing some of the political volunteers who provide the people power that fuels labor's political program. I think that will put us just in the right mood to hear from the Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action and consider an important resolution about building democracy and ensuring voter rights. This afternoon we'll also hear a report from the Resolutions Committee on public employee collective bargaining and on other issues. And we'll hear by video from our president, Barack Obama.

Now, President Obama intended to be here, but because of the situation in Syria, he had to send us a videotaped message instead. I know we were all looking forward to hearing from him in person, but I think that we can truly understand the gravity of what he and Congress are considering and see that he needs to remain in Washington, D.C., at the moment.

We'll also take a moment for a special tribute to someone we all love and respect, our outgoing executive vice president, Arlene Holt Baker.

Finally, we'll hear the report of the Constitution Committee.

Now, we've been hearing about just how far companies will go to block workers from forming unions. Sometimes it seems like politicians are getting their talking points directly from those companies. Watch this video to see what I mean. Watch this.

...A video was presented to the delegation.

TRUMKA: Right now, Lee has another important resolution on Committee 1, for the Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action.

Lee. *(Applause)*

REPORT OF COMMITTEE 1: THE COMMITTEE ON GROWTH, INNOVATION AND POLITICAL ACTION (Resumed)

RESOLUTION NO. 3

Exercising Our Civic Rights to Rebuild Our Democracy, Expand Workers' Rights and Strengthen Workers' Organizations

VICE PRESIDENT LEE A. SAUNDERS, AFSCME: OK! AFSCME! AFSCME!

Well, good afternoon. I'm back, I'm back, OK? Thank you, Rich.

Brothers and sisters, politics is the single-largest component of what the federation does because it is central to everything else. Through our political mechanism, we can overcome the Koch brothers, the Chamber of Commerce, ALEC and the array of right-wing organizations that coordinate and carry out vicious assaults on workers. They are well-resourced. When we are unified and coordinated, we can beat them—and we have.

In Massachusetts, instead of Senator Scott Brown, we now have Senator Elizabeth Warren, one of the most articulate advocates for working families in years. *(Applause)*

Why? Because we ran the best labor operation Massachusetts has ever seen. In Ohio, the Buckeye State, we waged a campaign for Sherrod Brown that was a textbook example of political coordination and organization. He was the Number One target of the Chamber of Commerce. But we came together early and we counterattacked. We put together independent expenditures, led by the federation, keeping him in the game. We coordinated an outstanding ground operation. We've done this repeatedly in big and small states from Montana to Missouri. We've stopped "right to work" for less either by electing the governor or flipping the statehouse.

Instead of Mitch McConnell taking over the Senate, we actually had a net gain. But 2014 is right around the corner, and we face uphill battles across this country. It's a huge re-election year for governors that we've been battling—boo. Boo that man. Such as John Kasich. Boo. Boo that man. *(Booing)*

John Kasich. *(Booing)*

Rick Snyder. *(Booing)*

Rick Scott. *(Booing)*

Tom Corbett. *(Booing)*

And Scott Walker—dirty dog. *(Booing)*

If we can defeat any of them, our members will get a measure of security, and we'll send a strong message. And beyond the governors I mentioned, just about any state could be the next place where the Koch brothers strike.

2014 is a make-or-break year for us. The affiliates that haven't signed up for Workers' Voice, don't wait any longer. Put your cash and resources on the line. We have to play big, and we have to win big.

There's nothing the corporate right, the right wing, would like better than to guarantee we could never again elect an Elizabeth Warren or a Sherrod Brown next year or any year.

Resolution 3, "Exercising Our Civic Rights to Rebuild Our Democracy, Expand Workers' Rights and Strengthen Workers' Organizations," calls for us to do in 2014 and beyond more of what we've been doing, and retake our democracy.

Under this resolution we will support a democracy agenda that includes protecting the voting rights of every citizen, reforming Senate rules to win genuine majority rule, reforming campaign finance to cleanse our elections of the corrupting influence of money, and reprioritizing state and local elections.

With our allies, the federation will continue to support the democracy initiative and to oppose the voter suppression laws that are modern-day poll taxes. We will support pro-worker candidates of either party and hold all politicians accountable.

At every level—at every level—we'll link political and organizing campaigns to win greater protections for workers organizing and collective bargaining rights.

On behalf of the Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action, I move the adoption of Resolution 3.

...The motion was seconded by several unidentified delegates.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 3. Is there discussion? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

CLAUDE CUMMINGS, Communications Workers of America: To the chairman, delegates and guests, I'm the vice president of the Communication Workers of America, District 6. I rise in support of Resolution 3. Last week some of us watched on TV, others participated, in the re-enactment of the march of 1963. In 1963, labor leaders, religious groups, community activists and others marched and spoke on the need for jobs, economic justice and civil rights. So here we are again, 50 years later, labor leaders, community activists, progressive organizations, now elected officials marching for economic justice, civil rights, immigration reform, along with voting rights and the rights for workers to organize without retribution.

We're trending backwards, and it must stop. Not only that, but we, labor, elected a president, majority in the Senate and the House. Whoever envisioned what would happen, that we would not get the Employee Free Choice Act.

I believe the definition of insanity has been defined as doing the same thing over and over again expecting different results. I'm not suggesting any of us are insane, but we must start to hold accountable elected officials we continue to support with our dollars and our feet that won't stand with us on legislation that protects our civil rights, our human rights, our rights to fair wages, our rights to economic justice, immigration reform, our right to have decent jobs. We need to get rid of those that won't stand with the 99%.

Finally, we need to get rid of those that will not stand for our right to vote.

They're either with us or against us. And if they're against us, we need to remove them from office and elect someone else, especially those who claim to be Democrats when they're running for office but vote like Republicans when they get elected. *(Applause)*

We need to make them accountable, like my president Larry Cohen and other leaders here, when we demanded that the Senate confirm the five NLRB appointees.

It would have been a sad Labor Day had we not got those appointees confirmed. But we didn't do it alone. We did it because we formed coalitions with other groups. And with an 11% organized workforce, we must leave here with the determination to build a coalition with progressive groups, religious groups, community activists, constituency groups and any group in this country that will stand and fight with us to protect our democracy and the middle class, the 99% in this country.

Dr. Lawson at the Diversity Conference yesterday quoted from Proverbs 29 and 18. He said, "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

I would like to take that a little further.

TRUMKA: I'm going to have to ask you to wrap up, sir.

CUMMINGS: Write it down, make it plain. It has been written down, it's plain. Let's support Resolution 3. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

VICE PRESIDENT JAMES ANDREWS, North Carolina State AFL-CIO: Thank you, Mr. President. I'm president of the North Carolina State AFL-CIO. I'm also a proud member of the Office and Professional Employees Union.

Delegates, I rise in support of Resolution 3. Voting rights and the right for every vote to be counted must always be a part of our core values, the core values of our movement.

Brothers and sisters, allow me to give you an example of our work in North Carolina. This work mirrors the work of other state feds and central labor councils across this country.

Over the years our coalition in North Carolina put forth an agenda to change our election laws in North Carolina; issues such as early voting, young folks voting, public financing, and we're proud of those changes we made under this mighty coalition.

This coalition went on to make those changes. But now we are in a fight-back mode against the Republican tea party, those folks who are saying they're going to take our right to vote and our right for our vote to be counted away from us.

This legislature, this tea party legislature, this governor, have put forth a vote of suppression. Let me just give you a snapshot of what's in this bill, probably the most restrictive bill in the country in terms of a photo ID bill. Let me just tell you, whipped back early voting. No same-day registration where we could go right on up to Election Day, register and vote at the very same time, took that away. No out-of-precinct voting. No teenage preregistration. Observers and poll watchers to intimidate voters, increase the number of observers and poll watchers to intimidate voters when they get to the polls.

Brothers and sisters, I don't have time to tell it all, but they even took away the public financing, the nationally known public financing we went through.

So our coalition went into fight-back mode. I am so proud to say to you, I stand here today and say that our leader, Al Moses, and Reverend Dr. Barber have led this coalition for six or seven years now. And some of you have heard of Moral Mondays.

I am so proud that I, Dr. Barber, and some of your members decided to take on nonviolence civil disobedience, and more than 900 of us went to jail, Mr. President and delegates. There are some things worth going to jail for. (*Applause*)

Taking away voting rights is such an act.

And I say to you, Mr. President, and members, we will never resolve the issues we are professing in this convention unless—

TRUMKA: James, your time is expired, I have to ask you to wrap up.

ANDREWS: We will never resolve those issues unless we are able to commit ourselves to make sure we protect our right to vote.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

PAUL BOOTH, AFSCME: Let me take you back for a little history to a week in June in 1963. On June 11th, President Kennedy had to federalize the Alabama National Guard in order to force Governor George Wallace to open the door to let Vivian Malone and James Hood enroll at the university.

The next day in the afternoon, as he pulled his car into his driveway, the voting rights leader Medgar Evers was assassinated. On the 14th, two days later, I met with my friends from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee who went that morning to meet with our strongest supporters on the Judiciary Committee, resolved to assure that Medgar would not have died in vain and determining then and there to craft a comprehensive civil rights law far beyond the one that President Kennedy had proposed, the law that is now the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The movement I joined then did that. We marched, we went to jail, we were attacked, we were beaten, we were spied upon, we were spat upon; and yes, some of us were shot and killed. So much sacrifice to attain the simple right to vote and those basic civil rights.

And what was the role of the AFL-CIO? Well, initially the AFL-CIO did not endorse the March on Washington 50 years ago. That was a mistake, one that will never be made again.

TRUMKA: Hear, hear.

BOOTH: But it was this organization, it was a young organization—you know, it was only 10 years old—that led the campaign in Congress for those laws, for the Civil Rights Act in '64 and the Voting Rights Act the next year, that led the lobbying, that forged the coalition—Andrew B. Miller, Kenneth Young.

Today the right to vote is in peril from today's George Wallaces. They're named McQueary, they're named Walker, Perry, Scott. They've put on Wallace's shoes, and their sidekicks on the U.S. Supreme Court boldly seek to strip millions of the vote.

The voting rights we won in 1965 created the majority that enacted Medicare, Medicaid, clean air, clean water, OSHA, federal aid education, immigration reform,

public broadcasting, motor vehicle safety, drug safety, the Equal Pay Act, and it created an environment not just for racial equality but for gender equality and sexual preference.

Today's George Wallaces want to roll all of that back. And guess what? Their largest obstacle is us. *(Applause)*

So I say, let the AFL-CIO resume its leadership role from the '60s. Let us issue a challenge to Congress and to every state, "Hands off the right to vote." And then let us march and let us vote and let us go to jail and let us use every nonviolent tactic that we've ever used before. And we will restore the Voting Rights Act and we will block voter suppression in every state, and we will achieve universal voter registration. And then we will use our new majority to vindicate the great hopes that are in all the other resolutions that are before us today and tomorrow and Wednesday.

I have been in this fight for 50 years, President Trumka, and I will not stop until we win. Thank you very much.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

JUDY BEARD, American Postal Workers Union: I'm with the American Postal Workers Union and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

I had an opportunity to go to South Africa during Nelson Mandela's election, as an observer. Guns were pointed, bombs were going off, all for the right to vote.

I did not come back to this country to have my rights taken away or the rights of other brothers and sisters.

It is imperative that we support this resolution, not only for today's workers, but for tomorrow's workers as well. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister.

Seeing no more debate, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 3. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no. Motion carries. Thank you.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 3

Exercising Our Civic Rights to Rebuild Our Democracy, Expand Workers' Rights and Strengthen Workers' Organizations

SINCE THE AFL-CIO'S LAST CONVENTION in 2009, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the Koch brothers, their political allies and other corporate special interests have waged a full-scale, multibillion-dollar war on workers' democratic rights. Corporate-backed state governments have revoked public employees' collective bargaining rights in Wisconsin, have passed so-called "right to work" laws to reduce workers' bargaining power in Michigan and Indiana and have erected new obstacles to voting and political participation in no less than 24 states. Nationally, corporations direct

their political allies to use the antiquated and undemocratic rules of the U.S. Senate to block votes and even debate on progressive legislation. Now more than ever, it is crucial for workers to hold Democratic and Republican politicians accountable when they back the corporate agenda. And now more than ever, it is crucial that our political action maximize the potential for workers to organize and bargain collectively.

Therefore, to promote vibrant organizations of working people and realize workers' rights and aspirations, the AFL-CIO supports reforms of our democracy that include voting rights, Senate rules reforms and campaign finance reform. Specifically, the federation will continue to support the Democracy Initiative and provide regular education on the attack on our democracy and encourage central labor councils and state federations to support the Democracy Initiative work in coalition with our allies. In addition, the federation will continue and expand its work, together with our allies, to achieve the goal of universal voter registration so every eligible voter is registered to vote and carries his or her registration with him or her. We will work through our state organizations and our allies to enact state legislation to expand registration and voting opportunities, including Election Day registration, expanded early voting, vote by mail, online registration and other such reforms. We will actively support measures to restore voting rights to ex-offenders. We will vigorously oppose voter suppression legislation such as strict photo ID laws, proof of citizenship requirements and cutbacks on early voting. We will actively support legislation to overturn the devastating Supreme Court decision in *Shelby County v. Holder*, which gutted the Voting Rights Act at a time when it is needed more than ever to protect the right to vote. We will work with our allies on a voter protection program at election time to ensure that the electorate is informed about its rights and the right to vote is protected. Finally, the federation will continue to push for rules reforms leading to a functioning Senate.

The federation will ask all state federations, local labor councils and affiliates to add the following to their candidate questionnaires:

- "Do you support universal registration, including eliminating all barriers to registration until universal registration is achieved?
- "Will you oppose any obstacle to voting and support promotion of greater voter participation, including early voting? And will you support the right to vote regardless of economic condition or race?"

The federation and workers must hold the political parties accountable. We must promote pro-worker candidates in primaries to hold Democrats and Republicans accountable for their votes and to elect more progressive officials, which includes training, developing and assisting pro-worker candidates, especially union members. We must also promote the formation and strengthening of pro-worker progressive caucuses in national and state legislative bodies and political party organizations.

We must commit greater affiliate resources to Workers' Voice, which will build our independent capacity and our ability to hold officials accountable once they are elected. Finally, we must demonstrate that we are not a one-party organization and will support Independent and Republican legislators if they consistently stand with workers against the corporate agenda, and we will work to defeat Democrats who betray workers.

Further, we should increase the federation's emphasis on state and local races. Especially with gridlock in Washington, policies undertaken by states and cities currently have the greatest impact on workers' fortunes—for better and for worse. Moreover, such efforts will strengthen local organizing.

Finally, we must more directly and consistently link politics to workers' ability to organize and bargain collectively through greater alignment of political and organizing campaigns at the national, state and local levels, and through the execution of the foregoing recommendations.

(End Resolution No. 3)

TRUMKA: Now, you saw the right-wing clips in a video a little earlier, and did you believe that? "Divide and conquer. Unions are the problem. I've taken on union bosses before. I'm happy to take them on again." By the way, "Hey Mitt, how'd that work out for you this last election," you know? *(Cheers and applause)*

It didn't work out for well for him. Because when this movement works together, we get things done.

When this movement works together, we win.

People power is the only true counter to anti-worker, right-wing zealots.

People power, the power of working people together, is what we showed this past election.

In 2012, together, we made 5.5 million phone calls.

We knocked on 3.25 million doors.

We completed more than 100,000 volunteer shifts.

We spoke to literally millions of nonunion workers through Workers' Voice.

That's how we kept Mitt out of the White House.

That's how we elected real champions for working families, like Elizabeth Warren, Sherrod Brown, and Tammy Baldwin and John Tester and Tim Kaine and so many others. With people power.

At this convention, I wanted to honor the people who make us who we are. So let me introduce you to two of the truly amazing people behind the people power, who came to my attention especially because of their political activism.

One is Betty Pecha Madden and also Pilar Arellano. They're at mike 1 right now.

Now, Betty is a member of IATSE Local 892, that's the Costume Designers Guild. She was first exposed to politics at the age of 7.

Her first job was on the production of "The Mickey Mouse Club." Since then, she's been working with some of the most famous entertainers, including Michael Jackson. In fact, she designed the famous shoes that he wore in "Smooth Criminal"

that allowed him to walk and lean at a 45-degree angle. But despite her busy successful career, she's most proud of being an activist.

Whether being arrested alongside hotel workers fighting for a living wage, or organizing phone banks with her co-workers to elect warriors for working people, or protesting anti-worker attacks in Wisconsin, she's there.

And all I can say is Betty, can you say a few words to us?

BETTY PECHA MADDEN, IATSE Local 892: For 30 years I asked, "What can the IATSE do for me and the Costume Designers Guild 892?" Today, I asked, "What can I do for the IATSE to help Matt Loeb and 892?" and "How can I help to organize workers across America and throughout the world to end the atrocities in Bangladesh?"

"Sí, se puede." Together we can. We can do this.

Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thanks, Betty. Not just for being here today, but thanks for all of those hours and all the activism and all the inspiration that you provide for all of us. Thank you.

And let me tell you a bit about Pilar. Pilar came from Chihuahua, Mexico. She started her work as a labor organizer for the Teamsters, and she never forgot her experience organizing workers at a recycling facility, where they were later fired. But after the yearlong fight, they were victorious.

She then spent a few years as a home care worker, and since 1999, has been spending her so-called free time as a near full-time volunteer with the L.A. County Fed and the Laborers Council Community Services.

Whether it's organizing the Thanksgiving food drive, coordinating other volunteers, working the political program or just filling in at any job, you can always count on Pilar. In addition to her countless contributions to campaigns and programs, she has the time to take in stray dogs, and she doesn't give them up until she finds them a good home.

Our sister, Pilar. *(Applause)*

PILAR ARELLANO, Labor Community Services: I want to say thank you to everybody, but I feel like I need my team here with me, Armando Olivas, Taro O'Sullivan, Margarita and Crystal. They belong to Community Services, and I need them here with me, please. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: You know something? Volunteers like these two are really the heart and the soul of our movement.

So let me ask you, are there any other supercharged political activists in the house besides Betty and Pilar? *(Cheers and applause)*

Now, do we have any boots on the ground here at this convention? I want to see that. So did anyone here share a workplace flier or two in 2012? If you did, stand up and stay standing, right? Give them a round. *(Applause)*

Now, anyone who sent local union mail on campaigns, you stand up, too, and keep standing.

Did anyone here talk to family, friends, neighbors, co-workers about what this election meant to working people? Stand up.

Now, how about door knocking? Did any of you knock on any doors for working family candidates? Please stand up. *(Applause)*

Now, is anyone here who volunteered at a phone bank in 2012? Stand up so we can thank you, and keep standing. *(Applause)*

Did anyone here attend the rally or stomp outside the offices of an opposing candidate to make our voices heard? Stand up and remain standing.

Now, I want you to look around. This is how we win, brothers and sisters. We win with people power because all of us are in, all of us, and I want to thank you each and every one of you. Give yourselves a round of applause because you got it the old-fashioned way, you earned it. *(Cheers and applause)*

...Shouts of "Sí, se puede!"

ARELLANO: Yes, we can. Thank you.

TRUMKA: God, I love this labor movement.

You know, brothers and sisters, as I mentioned earlier, we had thought at this point that I would be introducing President Barack Obama in person. But as I mentioned, the duties of his office have kept the 44th president of the United States from our convention. So he sent us a message in a video instead.

Sisters and brothers, never before has a president done more with so little cooperation from his opponents, sometimes even from his allies. As for the Republican Party's leadership, never have politicians been a greater obstacle to progress than they have been over these last five years, and in doing so, sought to undermine the office of the president itself, and the future prospects of our great nation.

Yet, our president has remained true to himself and his vision. He's remained faithful to his resolve. He has found ways to move forward. Even when our own relationship with the White House has been difficult, it has always been honest, and it has always been respectful, because this president understands that we are stronger together. And the president's values are America's values, the values of working families.

I'm honored to share with you this message from our president, Barack Obama.

...President Barack Obama addressed the delegation via video as follows:

THE HONORABLE BARACK OBAMA
President of the United States

Hello, AFL-CIO. I was hoping to be with you in person today as you guys know, but I'm staying in Washington so I can work with Congress to address the situation in Syria.

But I wanted to say two things. First, thank you for all you've done for decades on behalf of the working men and women of America. This country owes you a debt of gratitude for your efforts to make sure that everyone who works hard has a chance to get ahead, whether they're in a union or not.

Second, I wanted to share my commitment to that fight. Because it's more

important than ever. If I'm someone looking for a good job with good wages that lets me build some security for my family, then I'd join a union, because I'd want a union looking out for me.

Next week marks the fifth anniversary of the financial crisis that almost turned a recession into a depression and made a hard decade for the middle class that much worse. But with strength, resilience and your help, the American people have fought our way back.

Over the past three-and-a-half years, our businesses have created seven-and-a-half million new jobs. We sell more products made in America to the rest of the world than ever before. We locked in tax cuts for middle-class families, and our deficits are falling, in part, because we asked the wealthiest to pay a little more. Our manufacturing sector is rebounding, led by an American auto industry that is back.

Now, I don't have to tell you that we're not yet where we need to be. Our economy's more stable, but middle-class families deserve to feel more secure. We're a better country than one where those at the top do better year after year, while everyone else works harder and harder just to get by.

That's why we need to keep fighting for good jobs that let folks support their families, whether you work in a skyscraper or a shipyard, a factory or a fast food restaurant.

As we celebrate the 75th anniversary of the Fair Labor Standards Act, that means the right to overtime and a minimum wage that keeps pace with the times so families aren't left behind. We need to keep putting our construction workers back on the job rebuilding America's roads, rails and bridges. Keep fighting for a safe workplace, where your health isn't endangered by exposure to things like silica dust or hazardous chemicals, because no one should have to risk their life to make a living.

We need to keep fighting for a true right to organize, where workers are free from discrimination and intimidation on the job. That's why, with your help, I pushed to get the National Labor Relations Board back to full strength for the first time in a decade.

We need to keep fighting to prepare our children and our workers for the global economy, to fix our broken immigration system in a way that's fair to workers and grows our economy. We need to give every family in America the chance to buy quality, affordable health care of their own.

None of this will be easy. Fighting for America's workers has never been easy. But unions like yours were built to give America's workers a better shot in tough times.

Thanks to folks like your president, Rich Trumka, our new labor secretary, Tom Perez, and all the men and women of the AFL-CIO, I'm confident we'll keep rebuilding an economy that grows not from the top down, but from the middle out; an economy that gives everyone who works hard the chance to get ahead.

Thanks, everybody, and have a great convention. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Now we're going to take a moment to honor and to thank a sister who's enriched all of us and, quite frankly, our whole movement and far beyond that.

Arlene Holt Baker has decided not to seek another term as the AFL-CIO's executive vice president and devote more of her time to her wonderful family.

We know that she well deserves the new time in her life, but we also know that she'll never stop working for the causes and the passions that are at the center of her life and on our best days of this labor movement.

I'd like to share a brief video that will remind us of just a few of those passions and Arlene's contribution.

...A video presentation was shown to the delegation. (Standing ovation)

TRUMKA: Now, Arlene got her start in our movement in 1972, in Los Angeles, and since then she's taken on so many critical roles it's hard to boil her history down. She rose through the ranks of AFSCME as a grassroots organizer and an area director for California, where she led a brilliant campaign for equal pay for clerical workers. She worked on AFSCME's political program in the state.

She worked to elect a new leadership team at the AFL-CIO in 1995, and then became executive assistant to then-Executive Vice President Linda Chavez-Thompson. She played essential roles in defeating California Prop. 226 and in organizing the labor movement's support for migrant workers who pick and process strawberries in California.

She was the first director of the AFL-CIO Voice@Work campaign. She ran the federation's member education and get out the vote effort in Philadelphia in 2000, and later coordinated the AFL-CIO's Count Every Vote activity in the Florida recount.

She stepped away from the AFL-CIO in 2004 to serve as president of the nonpartisan voter education and mobilization effort Voices for Working Families, and then returned back home to the federation in 2006 to lead the AFL-CIO's Gulf Coast Recovery effort. In 2007, she was elected the first African American executive vice president of the AFL-CIO. *(Applause)*

But I've got to tell you it's one thing to talk about what Arlene has done. It's another to talk about who she is. Anyone who knows Arlene knows how much her character is founded on the belief that winning respect for everyone and helping others is a person's highest calling. That shows in the way that she treats other people.

And don't get me wrong, Arlene is a very, very strong leader. She expects excellence and she gets it because she lifts up the people around her. She leads by example and with deeply engrained moral authority. She always has a generous word and a helping hand.

Arlene will always walk the talk, and I can say that literally, because she walked 54 miles from Selma to Montgomery. She was arrested at a protest rally against Peabody Coal. She wouldn't ask anybody to do anything that she wouldn't do herself. That's just another example of who she is.

But perhaps most of all, Arlene can bring people and organizations to do what otherwise would seem impossible. Impossible is not a word that she knows.

Now, I want to ask some of the core members of Team Arlene to join me up here. With me here is President Emeritus John Sweeney, who chose Arlene as part of his leadership team in 2007. I'd like Secretary-Treasurer Liz Shuler to join us. Liz first met Arlene on their successful Prop. 226 campaign in California and has served with her since Liz joined our leadership team in 2009.

And Linda Chavez-Thompson, our executive vice president emerita, whom Arlene worked closely with as her executive assistant.

And now, for the pride of her life, her family. I want to ask them to join me.

Willie, Willie Baker. Willie is Arlene's husband and soulmate. Please come up and join us. *(Applause)*

Angela and son-in-law Chad. Please come and join us. *(Applause)*

And Arlene's pride and joy, two young ladies that I think could become very spoiled, Logan and McKenzie. Are they the most beautiful kids you've ever seen?

And join me, Dr. Eugene and Linda Adams. That's Chad's parents. And Arlene's longtime close personal friend, Ms. Gwen Green, you're family, too. Come on up.

Arlene, I can only say that you have a beautiful family. You have a devoted union family here in this room and in towns and cities all across this country—indeed, all across this world.

Brothers and sisters, our sister, a lady we love, Arlene Holt Baker. *(Cheers and applause)*

ARLENE HOLT BAKER **Executive Vice President, AFL-CIO**

Usually I can keep it together, and this isn't one of those days.

No, Logan, it's not one of those days that Nana can keep it together.

But standing on this stage this afternoon, and being in this hall surrounded by all that symbolizes the stages of my life—the doors that were opened and in some cases the doors that were kicked open—surrounded by community, allies that are so important to me. All of this makes me so humble.

You represent what grounded me and gave me my being. When I listened yesterday to the passionate message from our domestic leader, Myrtle Witbooi, I thought of my own mother, a domestic worker, who made less than poverty wages in then-Jim Crow Texas where she had to pay poll taxes in order to vote.

You see, when you grow up on a dirt street where most were poor—except the widow of the Pullman porter—when you grow up where schools were segregated and you yourself had to ride in the back of the bus and drink from the colored water fountain, and know the pain of your disabled little brother being delayed access to the state school because of the color of his skin, you decide early that you want to make the community and your world a better place. *(Applause)*

Antipoverty programs, affirmative action, grants and the ability to go to work for a union like AFSCME where the commitment is not just to organizing workers, but social and economic justice, propelled me to a stage where I could be part of organizing public workers in California, but it also gave me the space to work with and support the community because I and my union knew the importance of union and community.

And that is why having Lee Saunders, the president of AFSCME, and the former secretary-treasurer of AFSCME, Bill Lucy, who are part of my labor history being in this room, along with the rest of my AFSCME family from California and the rest of my AFSCME family around this country, means so very much to me. *(Applause)*

Rich, you talked about some of the work that I have been privileged to do over

these nearly 40 years, but it's been more than a labor of love, because I know the only way for our country to be the best that it can be is for all of us to have a voice at the ballot box and a voice at work, and all of us—and I mean all of us—to be treated equally and have the opportunity for the shared prosperity that we know is needed.

When you have known poverty like I did as a child, and when you've seen up close the inhumane conditions of immigrant farm workers in California and North Carolina, and on the other end of the spectrum you've seen workers who you helped to organize 30 years ago be able to buy homes and provide a higher education for their children, I only have to call to mind those experiences and I know that every day that I have spent doing this work has been worth it.

John Sweeney, Rich Trumka and Linda Chavez-Thompson. First coming to Washington as part of your executive New Voice team put me on a stage that provided further opportunities to continue to fight on a national stage for workers' rights and social and economic justice.

Linda, my fellow AFSCME and Texas sister, it was an honor to be your executive assistant. I, and the women and people of color in this movement, owe you a great debt. *(Applause)*

President Sweeney, you know how much I love and respect you, and your humility. And I thank you for the privilege of this daughter of a domestic worker to serve with the son of a domestic worker on your team as the executive vice president of the AFL-CIO. *(Applause)*

Rich, Rich Trumka, my brother—and we truly are brothers and sisters because sometimes we fight. *(Laughter)*

I love him and he loves me. He's my brother. To have been part of your team and be elected along with you and the youngest secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO, my sister, Liz Shuler. *(Applause)*

Yes, it was a history-making moment, but I'm proud we used our history-making moment to help further our movement. We said together we can and together we will, Rich and Liz and I. I am so proud that over the course of this convention, together with Rich and Liz, we have been on a stage where we have seen our movement begin to move in new and innovative ways to build worker and community power and recommit ourselves to diversity.

Rich, the one thing I know is the next Trumka team will continue to move us to a stronger federation—I'll say it again—a stronger federation, because we've got to be a stronger federation and a stronger movement.

To every one of my union sisters and brothers on the Executive Council, I will miss your voices at the Executive Council meetings. Some of your voices I will miss more than others, and you know who you are. *(Laughter)*

But I will always have with me your commitment to our movement, and I will carry with me forever your support for social change in this country. I thank you personally for every social change project that I brought to you that you supported.

To the wonderful women and men who lead our state and local bodies, I will miss being with you and engaging with our rank-and-file members around the country. I may be retiring, but if you need me to knock on some of those doors in 2014 and

2016, you can count on me. But one thing you just have to give me a little time, a head start here because I'll be able to get the seasoned person's airline ticket discount. *(Applause)*

To all of the staff at the AFL-CIO, but especially my office, past and current—Kim, Marge, Lisa, and my fabulous executive assistant, Jane McDonald—thank you for making my days easier and bringing a smile to my face when, you know, Rich and my family says I would have that “look,” and some of you guys know that “look.”

Now, as this seasoned labor activist and your executive vice president, it is time for me to move to another stage and to go through what I refer to as another gate—not the golden gate, I hope, because I'm not ready, not quite yet, for that, Kim Bobo, but I am ready to go home to spend more quality and quantity time with my family.

With my dear husband, Willie, who helps me be grounded because he shares the same values that I do; to spend more time with my son, Arthur, who isn't here today because he works one of those retail jobs where he couldn't get off. Sound familiar?

With my daughter, Angela, and my son-in-law, Chad. But all of you know one of the real driving forces for me to move through this new gate is two little girls named Logan and McKenzie who have given me the best title of all, and that's Nana. *(Applause)*

I will leave you with an ask, because you know we never leave a meeting without an ask, do we? So my ask of you, all my brothers and sisters, keep on fighting. Keep on fighting so that all of our children and our grandchildren won't have to ask, “Where is the contract?” And won't have to be marching 50 years from now for jobs and freedom. That's my ask, that's my hope, and that's my dream.

I love you all. And thank you for this privilege to have served you. *(Standing ovation)*
Peace and power.

Peace and power. Power to the people. *(Laughter)*

TRUMKA: Wow. When I was hugging Arlene, she whispered in my ear and she said, “You better keep this thing going or I'm going to give you the ‘look.’” *(Laughter)*

Arlene, we want to thank you for everything that you have done and I know that you will do. And I know you love those granddaughters. They're beautiful.

Now it's time for a report of the Resolutions Committee to consider Resolutions 41, 49, 26 and 38. So we'll hear from its chair, Harold Schaitberger.

Harold.

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Resumed)

RESOLUTION NO. 41

Collective Bargaining

VICE PRESIDENT HAROLD A. SCHAITBERGER, International Association of Fire Fighters: Thank you, Rich. S-C-H-A-I-T-B-E-R-G-E-R.

First resolution we'll take up is Resolution 41, “Collective Bargaining,” submitted by IUPA.

This resolution states that the AFL-CIO supports, endorses and continually advocates for the Employer/Employee Cooperation Act, which guarantees the basic

human right to bargain collectively for wages, hours and working conditions for public safety employees, which include firefighters, law enforcement and correctional officers.

And just before I offer that resolution for recommendation, I'd just like to point out a little bit of history. This resolution will be very easy I understand to support. It's the core of what we all are committed to do, and that is to assure that workers have the right to collective bargaining where it doesn't exist.

But I want to point out that I believe this resolution stands for more than just the goals and the principles of what we are trying to pursue. I also want to point out that it is simply one of the symbols of great disappointment from foes and so-called friends.

We're going to be doing a lot of discussion during this convention. I know that we'll be considering resolutions concerning political action. We'll be discussing and voting on resolutions that say that we should not be simply one-party oriented but to try to be biparty or nonparty in our political work.

But I want to point out that too many times we allow to get in our way of the act of those that would take our money, take our boots on the ground, take our votes, use our endorsements, want photos with us at their rallies, and then find a way to oppose us and—in the kindest way I can put it and the fact of the matter is too often—double-cross us.

It's easy to find the enemy that tries to prevent workers from having these fundamental rights, which right now for us exist in 21 states, 21 states where I've got over 100,000 members strong that don't have a right to sit at a table and negotiate an agreement, are not permitted to work under a collective bargaining agreement that sets out their wages, hours and working conditions.

And I look at this resolution and think what some of the history I believe it stands for that is, I guess, my message I want to take this moment to remind us of.

It's so easy for us, and it's certainly easy for me—I've been at this a while—to point out those that attack us, right-wing idealogues, those who want to strip our bargaining rights away, silence our political voice, take us out of the process of electing those that really have the power in our country, destroy our pension plans that we've all worked for decades and decades to build, and impose so-called "right to work."

They're pretty easy to find. Governors like Walker, Kasich, Scott, LePage, Snyder, Haley. There's plenty of senators to come along there, too—Cruz, McConnell, Hatch. The names could go on.

But the fact of the matter is, that we also too often have those that suggest they're our friends who don't help to lift, don't help to move a proposal.

I'm old enough to remember with some of my building trades brothers and others in the private sector, the late 1970s when we tried to pass common situs picketing and labor law reform. And it wasn't the right-wing who killed those proposals, it was, quite frankly, a Democratic president who behind the scenes helped to kill it and deny us those rights.

My brother Larry Cohen this morning reminded us of a United States Senate with fundamentally a super majority that we couldn't even get the Employee Free Choice Act heard or considered.

This bill, embodied in Resolution 41, was on the floor of the United States Senate in December of 2010 after being passed by the House of Representatives four times with 59 Democratic members in that caucus. And the truth of the matter is, three of them that claimed to be our friend voted against us, and that bill died, never to be heard or considered.

And as wonderful as it is, and I hope you'll be supporting this resolution, the likelihood is that it will be a long, long time before it actually gets any true consideration.

So I hope that as you're considering this resolution, a resolution that I think goes to the fundamental right that every single worker—as we've been talking about all week—in every single sector, in every single job, no matter where in the social economic scale they find themselves, should be able to have a country that guarantees that they have the right to bargain and work under a collective bargaining agreement. And we shouldn't be just celebrating those across the world, as we should, fighting for those rights when we watched our own PATCO employees just 30 years ago in shackles, in handcuffs, walked off to jail.

So it's my privilege on a resolution that we certainly spent so much time and effort on to ask that on behalf of the Resolutions Committee we will move adoption of Resolution 41 and look forward to your support. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 41 be adopted. Is there any discussion?

Brother, unless it's a point of order, I'd ask you to wait until after the vote and then I'll recognize you.

VICE PRESIDENT JAMES CALLAHAN, International Union of Operating Engineers: I would ask for special privilege, Mr. President.

TRUMKA: We're in the middle of a vote. As soon as the vote is over, I'll recognize you. Thanks, Brother Jim.

Is there any other discussion? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

RICKY WALSH, IAFF: Thank you, Mr. President. I'm a proud member of the International Association of Fire Fighters. I'm elected from Fire Fighters in the states of Washington, Idaho, Montana and Alaska to serve as a 7th District vice president, and today I rise in support of the Resolution 41.

Everyone in this room supports bargaining, and it was clear that a majority of Congress supported bargaining as well. Yet, this bill failed and its prospect for passage any time soon is very dim. Why? Because of politics. Our enemies on the Hill, they fight hard. And what's unfortunate is our friends lavish us with praise and they laud our service, but when push comes to shove they didn't prioritize this issue for us.

The passage of the Public Safety Employer/Employee Cooperation Act would be the greatest expansion of bargaining rights since President Kennedy's executive order granting federal employees bargaining rights.

In all fairness to Congress, the bill passed the House three times in the 111th Congress. Nancy Pelosi and George Miller, they stood tall and they delivered, but the Senate was another question.

We actually had nine GOP co-sponsors, nine of them, and passing the bill with 59 Democrats and nine Republicans should have been a slam dunk, but it wasn't. The Democratic leadership brought this bill to the floor at a time when the GOP was stopping everything that wasn't budget-related. And so our GOP co-sponsors stood with their leadership, the evil Mitch McConnell, rather than with us, the Fire Fighters. So they are to blame. But so was the Democratic leadership who chose to bring the bill up knowing it would be blocked.

And then to further add insult to injury, three Democrats actually voted against cloture, Mark Warner out of Virginia, a Demo in name only. Bennett out of Colorado, the current chair of the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee. And Kay Hagan from North Carolina. They all turned their back on us.

And, by the way, Kay Hagan will be running this year, and I'm sure that she's already asked for support of labor, and everybody should remember what she did.

This is about accountability and picking sides. If providing workers a voice in the workplace is a priority, our friends need to step up their game and show they are friends in deed and not just word. The politicians want our money, they want our resources, and they want our grassroots efforts. And I want them to earn it, and collectively this room, we should demand it. After all, in spite of what they think, we do have choices every single election. Thank you, Mr. President. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Hear, hear, Brother. Well said. Delegate at mike 2.

MAHLON MITCHELL, IAFF: Thank you, Mr. President. I'm a delegate with the International Association of Fire Fighters, also the state president of the Professional Fire Fighters of Wisconsin and a proud AFL-CIO Executive Board member in our state of Wisconsin. *(Applause)*

You guys are going to have to stop clapping because I only have three minutes. *(Laughter)*

The IAFF began this effort in 1994 and had garnered bipartisan support from the beginning, with Dale Kildee from Michigan, Democrat, and Jimmy Duncan from Tennessee, Republican, co-sponsoring this bill, a bill that at one point had over 300 co-sponsors in the House with over 60 Republicans signed on.

We were joined by the House of Labor: AFL-CIO, IUPA, CWA, Teamsters, AFSCME, to name a few. The bill would have provided recognition and basic bargaining rights for about 70,000 firefighters and 100,000 police officers.

In Wisconsin, we know what happens when collective bargaining is under attack. In Wisconsin we had a fight, Act 10, to kill collective bargaining for public-sector employees. And they told us as firefighters and police officers that we can sit this one out. We don't want to see you at the protest, we don't want to see you at the rallies. Our governor said it will be all over in about two weeks. Everybody will go home and realize their lives are better because of Act 10 and getting rid of collective bargaining.

Well, I don't scratch my head if it doesn't itch, and I don't dance if there's no music. *(Laughter)*

We will not be intimidated. No, we told him that we—we not only said, “No,” but we said, “Hell no,” when we came out and marched with our brothers and sisters in labor. *(Applause)*

And we will continue to have this fight, because we're not only under attack in Wisconsin—Issue 5 in Ohio, paycheck deception in Florida, Prop. 32 right here in California, attacks on collective bargaining in New Hampshire, so-called pension refunds all across this country, and the list goes on and on and on. It gets me fired up, but I've only got three minutes.

So I rise in support of this resolution because the workers who make our fire trucks have collective bargaining. The workers who make our helmets have collective bargaining. The workers who make our radios have collective bargaining. And every firefighter should have collective bargaining in the United States and should be able to talk about hours, wages and working conditions, because everyone should be able to sit down with their employer and talk.

But we cannot stop this fight. We didn't start this fight. But if it's a fight they want, it's a fight they're going to get and we've got to bring it to them. So that's why we have to support this resolution. We cannot be intimidated, we cannot be deterred, we cannot stop fighting for employee rights for everybody, to sit down and talk about hours, wages and working conditions. And we have to continue to ask the question, “Where are the papers at?” *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Delegate at mike 3.

GARY MOORE, Tennessee AFL-CIO Labor Council: Thank you, Mr. President and fellow delegates. I'm a proud 34-year member of the IAFF Local 140. I also happen to be a founding member of the Southern Federation of Professional Fire Fighters, where the majority of those that do not have the right to sit at the table reside. Most of these people that do not, those members that do not have the right to negotiate, are from the Southern states.

But let me say this, with the Southern Federation, it was their Number One objective to make collective bargaining a priority objective with the IAFF as their legislative agenda. And I'm proud to say they took that initiative and they ran with it.

The IAFF leadership, as has already been mentioned, got the football down to the goal line but unfortunately could not push it in. I would ask you to support Resolution 41 and stand by those individuals that do not have the right to negotiate or to sit at the table.

Having served as vice president, president, secretary-treasurer of my own local, we sit at the table. And I have sat across from the city leaders who look me in the eye and said, “Before we start negotiations...”—let me rephrase that. They wouldn't even call it negotiations. “Before we start discussions, let me tell you that we don't have to be here. We don't have to be here.” And I said, “Neither do we.”

So I'd ask you to stand with those who do not have what most of you in this room have. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

Seeing no further debate, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 41. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no.
Resolution 41 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 41
Collective Bargaining

WHEREAS, collective bargaining is essential to the promotion of economic health and administrative protections for public safety employees; and

WHEREAS, collective bargaining is the most efficient manner in which to resolve workplace disputes; and

WHEREAS, employees of federal, state and local governments are among the only workers in America who do not have the right to collectively bargain; and

WHEREAS, public safety employees cannot engage in strikes or slowdowns without being accused of jeopardizing public safety; and

WHEREAS, collective bargaining without the right to strike is simply mandated communication between an employer and his employees, be it

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO supports, endorses and has continuously advocated for the Employer-Employee Cooperation Act, which guarantees this basic human right to collectively bargain for wages, hours, and working conditions for public safety employees.

(End Resolution No. 41)

TRUMKA: Brother Callahan was at mike 3, asked for a point of special privilege.

CALLAHAN: Yes, sir, thank you.

TRUMKA: State the nature of your special privilege, Brother.

CALLAHAN: Good news, Brother.

TRUMKA: I could tell you this, we can always use good news. Please go ahead.

CALLAHAN: Thank you for letting me interrupt this important deliberation.

In a decision issued today by Judge John M. Seida of the Indiana Lake Superior Court, it was a declaratory judgment declaring Indiana's "right to work" law unconstitutional. *(Standing ovation)*

TRUMKA: Hey, Jim, for the record, please state your full name and your affiliation.

CALLAHAN: My name is James Callahan. I am the proud general president of the Operating Engineers, 382,000 strong.

TRUMKA: Thanks, Buddy.

CALLAHAN: If I may just continue.

The ruling was the latest development in a lawsuit filed by the IUOE Local 150, Chicago and Indiana. The lawsuit claimed that the law was in violation of Article 1, Section 21 of Indiana's Constitution, which states, "No person's particular services shall be demanded without just compensation."

Local 150 argued Indiana's "right to work" law is unconstitutional because it makes it illegal for unions to collect fees for services that are federally required to be provided.

This is a victory for the middle class. These laws are nothing but thinly veiled tools to weaken unions, and this is a big win for workers who rely on unions to provide decent wages and benefits.

Indiana Supreme Court Rule, Section A, Section B gives exclusive jurisdiction to the Supreme Court for appeals for final judgment, declaring the state statute unwhole or in part unconstitutional. The judgment is subject to mandatory review within 30 days.

Thank you for your time. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

And when you said you wanted to provide good news, you weren't kidding. Thanks, Jimmy.
Harold.

RESOLUTION NO. 49

Resolution to Include Union Label Identification in Contract Language

SCHAITBERGER: The next resolution is No. 49, submitted by the Union Label and Service Trades Department.

Resolution 49 is a "Resolution to Include Union Label Identification in Contract Language." It resolves that affiliated unions are encouraged to negotiate language in collective bargaining agreements that requires a union label.

On behalf of the Resolutions Committee, I move the adoption of Resolution No. 49.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 49 be adopted. Is there any discussion?

Seeing none, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 49. The committee—for what purpose does the delegate at mike 1 rise?

RICH KLINE, Union Label and Service Trades Department: To speak on Resolution 49.

TRUMKA: Proceed.

KLINE: I'm president of the Union Label and Service Trades Department. I'm a proud member of the GMP.

I simply want to say that we've got a great brand in the union label and too often it isn't evident. What we hope to get here is the means to give consumers the opportunity to spot our brand at the point of purchase, and we call for passage of the resolution. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. *(Applause)*

Seeing no further debate, the question is on adoption of Resolution 49. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no.
Resolution 49 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 49

Resolution to Include Union Label Identification in Contract Language

WHEREAS, many consumers, including both union members and non-union members, look for union made goods and services as a way to support good jobs with decent pay and benefits for the people who produce the ware and services that they purchase, and

WHEREAS, many of these consumers value the assurance of quality and value that union made goods and services offer, and

WHEREAS, employers under contract with unionized workers enjoy enhanced business because of the public's association of union made goods and service with higher quality, reliability and value, and

WHEREAS, it is too often difficult to determine whether goods are made in the United States, let alone made by union workers, and

WHEREAS, it is the responsibility of union workers and their unions to provide the public with information concerning whether products and services are union made, and

WHEREAS, the Union Label is a historic means that is widely recognized as an indicator of the union made nature of products and services,

BE IT RESOLVED that affiliated unions are encouraged to negotiate language in collective bargaining agreements that requires a union label verifying that products and services are made or provided by union workers.

(End Resolution No. 49)

TRUMKA: Harold.

RESOLUTION NO. 26

Resolution to Develop a Southern Organizing Strategy

SCHAITBERGER: Thanks, Rich.

The next resolution to consider is Resolution No. 26. That resolution is to "Develop a Southern Organizing Strategy." It's submitted by the Savannah Regional Central Labor Council.

It calls on the AFL-CIO to adopt as one of its top priorities a Southern strategy that includes a long-term commitment and investment in organizing the South and urge every affiliate to adopt the same long-term commitment and investment.

On behalf of the Resolutions Committee, I move the adoption of Resolution 26.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 26 be adopted. Is there any discussion? Delegate at mike 3, please.

YVONNE ROBINSON, Central Georgia Federation of Trades and Labor Council:

Good afternoon. I'm the secretary-treasurer of the Georgia State AFL-CIO and a proud 25-year member of AFSCME. *(Applause)*

I rise to speak in favor of Resolution 26. Our union has a proud history of fighting oppression across the country and specifically in the South. I am proud to say that in 1968, Dr. King stood with workers and gave his life for 1,300 striking sanitation workers in Memphis. These workers organized for the basic recognition, voice and human dignity that comes with union recognition. Through this struggle they were recognized as members of AFSCME 1733.

Fast forward to today. We are still seeing the same attacks today on workers in the South. AFSCME members and all working families have withstood the struggles under the "right to work" for less culture of Georgia, Texas, Florida, Louisiana and other states across the South.

The facts are clear. Workers in the South have been denied their share of the American dream. Workers earn an average of \$5,680 less than states that are not "right to work." Some 26.7% of jobs are below poverty, compared to 19.5% in other states.

People in "right to work" states are likely to be underinsured. All the workers are suffering from the race to the bottom. AFSCME is committed to organizing the South through partnering with unions and coalition partners.

In January of this year, President Saunders spoke at the unity breakfast and committed to providing resources in the South. AFSCME has created a Southern region to successfully start organizing in the South and including broad partnerships. This resolution will coordinate the support for broad-based workplace and political organizing.

I am urging the convention to support this Resolution 26. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

ANDY MADTES, South Florida AFL-CIO: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm the president of the central labor council in Miami, South Florida. I'm also the secretary-treasurer for UNITE HERE in South Florida.

I stand here today in support of Resolution 26. Organizing can be done in the South, and if you put the resources that we need into it, we can grow. The workers deserve it. Every working man and woman in South Florida, throughout the South, deserves the right to organize and to have the support to organize. Thank you, sir.
(Applause)

TRUMKA: Hear, hear, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

BRETT HULME, Savannah Regional Central Labor Council: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm a dues-paying member of the Office and Professional Employees Local 277. I'm representing the Savannah Regional Central Labor Council, whose delegates authored this resolution.

The reality for everybody is the center of the American auto industry is now the Southeast United States. Already in production: Mercedes and Honda facilities in Alabama, BMW in South Carolina, Nissan in Mississippi, Kia in Georgia, Toyota has plants in the Southeast, and Tennessee has the Volkswagen plant.

In the aerospace industry, Boeing has come to South Carolina. That's what's already in place currently being manufactured.

What's coming? A huge Caterpillar plant east of Atlanta with 1,200 potential jobs; the Elba Island natural gas facility expansion in the hundreds of millions of dollars.

The Gulf Coast, which is multiple states, oil and natural gas expansion.

Sunday, September 1st newspaper "Made in the USA" article cited Apple, making their desktop Mac, assembled in Texas, components from Florida, equipment from Kentucky.

GE has pledged \$1 billion for the U.S. appliance business.

Our friends over at Walmart—joke (*Laughter*)—\$50 million worth of U.S. goods in the next 10 years. Google's Motorola Mobility, first smartphone designed, engineered and assembled in the U.S.

Last week, in the Atlanta Business Chronicle, Beretta, the gun manufacturer, has five sites short-listed, all five located in Georgia, which already houses the Glock facility. Kumho Tire announced last week they will be building a facility in Macon, Georgia. SpaceX, private money that has partnered with NASA, has short-listed two sites, either in South Georgia or North Florida, to launch satellites.

But ironically, it's not just manufacturing. All these building trades jobs have potential. We have an industry coming to Georgia that has passed through but is now setting down roots in the entertainment industry. Pinewood Studios outside of Atlanta, Meddin Studios, broke ground outside of Savannah, Georgia, in a \$90 billion project.

These jobs and more will demand consumption of public goods and services, allowing an increase in public-sector unions. Nobody's exempt from these opportunities, brothers and sisters. A Southern organizing strategy will result in increase in union density, and these ponds of blue that have been identified in this sea of red we live in in the South can be directly correlated to union density.

TRUMKA: Brother, I'm going to have to ask you to wrap it up. Your time's expired.

HULME: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I urge the body to support this resolution for us and for all workers. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

Seeing no further debate, the question's on the adoption of Resolution 26. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

For what purpose does the delegate at mike 2 rise?

JEANETTE WYNN, AFSCME: I rise in support of the resolution. I am president of AFSCME Florida Council 79.

TRUMKA: Please proceed.

WYNN: "Right to work" hasn't been all that we could look forward to in the state of Florida. It has been the norm. However, we have continued to fight the fight, and this resolution makes it just what is needed in the South. This is what we need in the South. We need to get rid of the "right to work" resolution.

TRUMKA: Hear, hear.

WYNN: That "right to work" resolution has extended to dues deduction, our suppression of dues deduction, suppression of pensions, and suppression of all those state benefits that state employees have earned throughout their career.

I say to you, Convention, deny the "right to work" by supporting this resolution.
(Applause)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Seeing no further discussion, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 26. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

Those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no.
Resolution 26 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 26

Resolution to Develop a Southern Organizing Strategy

WHEREAS, the US labor movement has never successfully developed a concerted and coordinated effort to organize workers in the 11 Southern states making up the Southern Region, allowing the most conservative political forces in the South to operate without effectively being challenged by organized workers; and

WHEREAS, Corporations in the South have not only exploited Southern workers but have also been responsible for the negative environmental impacts on

many working class communities, especially the African American, Latino, Native American, Asian and poor white communities; and

WHEREAS, Billions of dollars in tax breaks and incentives are being given to corporations at the expense of these struggling communities; and

WHEREAS, The main strategy of the corporations in the South has been to divide the working class and the oppressed peoples in every way possible; and

WHEREAS, The South has reemerged as a major player in the new global economy, and has become a haven for US manufacturing, foreign investments and finance capital, and because of this reemergence is now playing an integral role in shaping US labor and social policies; and

WHEREAS, Anti-immigration bills are being introduced and are rapidly moving through Southern legislatures for the sole purpose of creating another source of worker exploitation that is based on race, ethnicity and fear; and

WHEREAS, acknowledging the shortcomings of the US labor movement to organize the South is in no way meant to suggest that workers in the South have not been organizing and resisting these attacks for decades; and

WHEREAS, organizing and campaigning in the South have been localized and not connected to a Southern or national movement, thus discouraging sustained efforts to organize unions in the South; and

WHEREAS, a successful Southern organizing strategy must include Southern people familiar with local culture and customs; and

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the Twenty-Seventh (27th) Convention of the AFL-CIO adopts as one of its top priorities a Southern Strategy that will include a long-term commitment to organize the South; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO strongly impress upon every one of its affiliates to adopt the same long-term commitment necessary to sustain a strong and viable workers' movement in the Southern Region of the United States.

(End Resolution No. 26)

TRUMKA: Harold.

RESOLUTION NO. 38

Resolution That Reynolds American Inc. Establish a Process with FLOC That Guarantees Freedom of Association and Worker Representation for Tobacco Farm Workers in the Tobacco Supply Chain

SCHAITBERGER: The next resolution will be Resolution 38. It's submitted by the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, FLOC.

The resolution provides that Reynolds American Inc. establish a process—will establish a process with FLOC that guarantees freedom of association and worker representation for tobacco farm workers and the tobacco supply chain.

It resolves that the AFL-CIO renew its support for justice for tobacco farm workers and FLOC. It calls on Reynolds American to provide FLOC with a written agreement that establishes a written process that guarantees freedom of association and worker representation, and it resolves that the AFL-CIO will take a variety of specific steps to support FLOC's efforts, including communicating directly with British-American tobacco and bringing customer pressure on retailers.

On behalf of the Resolutions Committee, I move the adoption of Resolution 38.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 38 be adopted. Is there discussion? Delegate at mike 2 is recognized.

VICE PRESIDENT BALDEMAR VELÁSQUEZ, Farm Labor Organizing Committee:

I'm president of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, also a proud executive board member of the Ohio AFL-CIO, and an executive committee member of the Greater Toledo AFL-CIO Central Labor Council.

I speak in favor of this resolution that was drafted by our membership from North Carolina. It's really an action resolution of all those 1 to 6, Resolution No. 8, and the recent one that I worked on, 26, organizing in the South.

Agricultural workers have long been overlooked across the United States. César Chávez is no longer with us. Dr. Martin Luther King is no longer with us to fight these fights, but we've got a next generation of fighters that are out there every day signing up workers, pushing to organize these forgotten tobacco workers in the deep South.

We have an action planned for next summer to sign up 5,000 tobacco workers. And the support we've gotten from the federation right now, that we've gotten in Europe and here throughout the United States, has allowed us, then, to push Reynolds Tobacco to finally talk with us. For five years they said they would never talk to us.

President Trumka got a letter from BAT saying they'll talk to you, but they won't talk to FLOC. They'll talk to everybody and their mother except the farm workers. But we believe that farm workers have a right to speak for themselves, and we thank you for your support in backing us, and now Reynolds Tobacco decided they'll talk to us after all. (*Applause*)

Now, we're pushing them to recognize freedom of association, and I'm glad to report that as of two weeks ago, they've decided that they would look at figuring out to talk with us about how to defend freedom of association in their supply chain.

Now, we're not done there. We're not over the hump. We have to keep up the pressure against their retailers and British American Tobacco. But with your help, we can bring this victory home so that farm workers once and for all can join the labor movement and win the rights that are long overdue to them, along with the domestic workers we presented earlier in this convention.

It's time to include agricultural workers and domestic workers in the mainstream of the democratic process to be able to speak for themselves, to live, eat, regulate and bring the rights to feed, educate and clothe our own families.

Brothers and sisters, I ask you to support this resolution. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Baldemar.

Seeing no further debate, the question is on adoption of Resolution 38. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no. Resolution 38 is adopted. Thank you.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 38

Resolution That Reynolds American Inc. Establish a Process with FLOC That Guarantees Freedom of Association and Worker Representation for Tobacco Farm Workers in the Tobacco Supply Chain

WHEREAS, Reynolds American Inc. (RAI), based in Winston Salem, NC, is the largest tobacco company in North Carolina;

WHEREAS, British American Tobacco (BAT), based in London, UK, owns more than 42 percent of RAI;

WHEREAS, tobacco farm workers suffer hardships such as long hours of stoop labor in the fields, abject poverty, miserable and squalid housing in their labor camps and are denied basic labor and human rights protections;

WHEREAS, many tobacco farm workers are recruited by criminal syndicates in Mexico, forced to pay thousands in extortionist fees and work without legal documentation, making them particularly vulnerable to exploitation;

WHEREAS, RAI does not directly employ the tobacco farm workers, but RAI effectively controls pricing and procurement processes with its contract growers, and in that capacity, RAI has the power to facilitate needed changes in the fields;

Whereas, while RAI asserts that exploitative conditions do not exist on farms supplying tobacco for its products, only guarantees of freedom of association and worker representation can ensure that workers have a safe and healthy workplace and receive fair compensation;

WHEREAS, a 2011 report by Oxfam America and the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, "A state of fear: Human rights abuses in North Carolina's tobacco industry," assessed the tobacco industry's impact on the human rights of farm workers in the tobacco fields of North Carolina, and found conditions in the tobacco supply chain that can best be corrected through the establishment of a process that guarantees freedom of association and worker representation;

WHEREAS, the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO (FLOC) represents thousands of migrant workers from Mexico employed under the H-2A guest worker program by members of the North Carolina Growers Association (NCGA), and FLOC has been engaged in a campaign since 2007 to gain dignity, respect and safe working conditions for tens of thousands of tobacco farm workers in North Carolina and the Southern Region;

WHEREAS, in 2012, RAI and FLOC began direct discussions about establishing a process that guarantees worker representation and freedom of association in the tobacco supply chain, meetings that were first requested in October 2007, and only came about as the result of organizations like the AFL-CIO, whose continuing support has been instrumental in achieving this breakthrough;

WHEREAS, RAI has yet to establish a process with FLOC that guarantees freedom of association and worker representation in the tobacco supply chain;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO renews and pledges its wholehearted and enthusiastic support for justice for tobacco farm workers and FLOC, and calls on Reynolds American to establish a written process that guarantees freedom of association and worker representation for tobacco farm workers in the tobacco supply chain;

BE IT RESOLVED, that the President of the AFL-CIO will communicate directly with British American Tobacco urging that BAT use its influence as a major owner of RAI to request that RAI establish a process that guarantees freedom of association and worker representation for tobacco farm workers in the tobacco supply chain, and that the AFL-CIO International Department continue its efforts to enlist the support of global labor networks in countries where BAT markets its products to communicate their support for FLOC to BAT;

BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO with a membership of 12 million members will bring consumer pressure on convenience stores such as 7-Eleven, WaWa and Kangaroo Express and other retailers that sell RAI products demanding that they directly communicate with RAI that their consumers want RAI to establish a process with FLOC that guarantees freedom of association and worker representation for tobacco farm workers in the tobacco supply chain;

BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO through its affiliates, state federations, central labor councils and area labor federations, constituency groups and allies will mobilize to exert consumer pressure at the local store level by participating in group visits to store managers, information activities outside of stores and other lawful actions which will demonstrate to convenience store and retail store management that consumers demand that they communicate with RAI until FLOC obtains a signed agreement;

BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO lend its support to FLOC's campaign to collect 5,000 union authorization cards from tobacco farm workers in the fields of North Carolina in June, July and August during the summer of 2014;

BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO assist FLOC with planning for the recruitment, deployment, logistics and training of fifty organizers that would be available to collect union authorization cards from tobacco farm workers during the summer of 2014;

BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO engage in these activities to support FLOC's campaign to bring justice to the tobacco farm workers of North Carolina and the South until FLOC informs the AFL-CIO that its goals have been achieved.

(End Resolution No. 38)

TRUMKA: I want to thank you, Harold, and thank you, again, for the whole committee for the great work that you did.

And now, we will hear from Ed Hill for a report from the Constitution Committee. Ed.

REPORT OF THE CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE

VICE PRESIDENT EDWIN D. HILL, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:
Good afternoon. Good afternoon.

DELEGATION: Good afternoon.

HILL: Thank you very much.

Before I start, I would like to take a moment of personal privilege just to say to my sister, Arlene, thank you very much for a lifetime of dedication to working men and women. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

I'm here with two of my colleagues on the Constitution Committee, Mike Sacco and Kinsey Robinson, to give the report of the Constitution Committee.

We'll start with two amendments that directly relate to the theme of inclusion that we talked about yesterday afternoon.

Before I summarize those amendments, I want to thank all of my other colleagues on the Constitutional Committee: Rose Ann DeMoro, Barbara Easterling, Pat Eiding, General Holiefield and Mary Mahoney. Thank you very much for all your work.

The first amendment we're recommending is Amendment No. 1 in your books. It picks up on the resolution that the convention adopted yesterday concerning young workers: The critical importance of young workers to the future of the labor movement.

Before getting to that amendment, let me just say how proud I am of the work done by Liz Shuler and what she's doing to—you can clap that's fine. Thank you. *(Applause)*

Liz is doing reaching out to young workers. You know, she came into office four years ago pledging to build this program, and she's done a terrific job in building the program with a strong guiding hand and welcomed sense of humor.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 1

Expanding the General Board to Include Young Workers

HILL: The amendment before you, Amendment No. 1, is called "Expanding the General Board to Include Young Workers." This amendment, for the first time, formally incorporates young workers into the governance structure of the AFL-CIO.

The amendment gives a seat on the AFL-CIO's General Board to a representative of the Young Workers Advisory Committee that Liz created and led over the last four years. Two of those young leaders you heard from yesterday.

With this change, young workers in the YWAC formally become part of the AFL-CIO governance structure. The amendment ensures that the young workers will have a seat and a voice at the table.

They'll be invited to all Executive Council meetings, and the committee believes our movement will benefit from their participation, their energy and, most importantly, their ideas.

The amendment also urges that consideration be given to young workers when the Executive Council is filling vacancies on that council. These important changes bring young workers into our movement, give them a formal voice, and help us build for the future.

The Constitution Committee unanimously endorses Amendment No. 1 and, on behalf of the committee, I move its adoption.

...The motion was seconded by several unidentified delegates.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends adoption of Amendment No. 1. Is there discussion?

The question is on the adoption of Amendment 1. The committee recommends you vote for the adoption of the amendment.

All those in favor of Amendment No. 1, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no. Amendment No. 1 is adopted.

(The text of the amendment as adopted by the convention follows.)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 1

Expanding the General Board to Include Young Workers

THE AMENDMENT WOULD FORMALLY RECOGNIZE YOUNG WORKERS in the governance of the federation by authorizing the addition of a young worker representative on the General Board. This representative would be chosen by the Young Worker Advisory Committee in accordance with Resolution 19, "Investing in Our Future: Young Workers and Youth Engagement." The amendment clarifies that members of the General Board must be members of an affiliated organization.

The amendment adds young members to the existing constitutional provision on filling Executive Council vacancies consistent with the federation's commitment to diversity and broad representation of the labor movement's membership.

- a. Amend Article XI (General Board), Section 1 to read as follows:
New language in bold and italics; [language to be deleted in italics and brackets]
- i. The General Board shall consist of all of the members of the Executive Council and the principal officer of each affiliated national or international union, the principal officer of each trade and industrial department, a representative of each national constituency organization, ~~[and]~~ allied retiree organization, ***and young worker organization*** recognized by the Federation, a representative of each chartered national community affiliate, and regional representatives of the state, area, and local central bodies selected by the Executive Council pursuant to a system promulgated by the Council.
- b. Amend Article XI (General Board), Section 4 by adding ***“young worker organization”*** after “allied retiree organization.”
- c. Amend Article VI (Elections), Section 4 to read as follows:
 - i. In the event of a vacancy in the office of Vice President by reason of death, resignation, or otherwise, the Executive Council shall have the power to fill the vacancy by majority vote of all its members for the remainder of the unexpired term, consistent with the Federation’s goal of achieving an Executive Council that is broadly representative of the diversity of the membership of the labor movement, including its women members, ~~[and]~~ its members of color, ***and young members.***
- d. Amend Article XI (General Board), Section 1 by adding at the end of the Section ***“Each General Board member shall be a member of an affiliated organization.”***
(End Constitutional Amendment No. 1)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 9

Welcoming All Workers to Our Movement

HILL: Thank you very much.

The second amendment we’re recommending this afternoon is Amendment No. 9. It also involves inclusion. It would add a gender identity and gender expression to the AFL-CIO Constitution in the existing clause where we encourage all workers, regardless of race, creed, color, origin, national origin, religion, disability or sexual orientation, to join the labor movement.

This amendment makes an important statement about the federation’s support for transgender workers and the fact that they’re welcomed in our movement.

It shows that we’re a broad and inclusive movement that welcomes all workers.

The Constitution Committee was unanimous in support for this amendment. On behalf of the committee, Mr. Chairman, I move its adoption.

...The motion was seconded by several unidentified delegates.

TRUMKA: It's been moved and seconded to adopt Amendment No. 9. Is there discussion?

Seeing none, the question is on the adoption of Amendment 9. The committee recommends adoption.

All those in favor of Amendment 9, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no. Amendment 9 is adopted. (*Applause*)

(The text of the amendment as adopted by the convention follows.)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 9

Welcoming All Workers to Our Movement

Amend Article II: Objectives and Principles, Section 4, as follows.

Section 4. To encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color, sex, national origin, religion, disability, [or] sexual orientation, **gender identity, or gender expression** to share equally in the full benefits of union organization.

(End Constitutional Amendment No. 9)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 2

Updating and Streamlining Convention Procedures

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 11

Executive Council Authority

KINSEY ROBINSON, Roofers and Waterproofers: We will now turn to Amendments 2 and 11.

The committee recommends adoption of these amendments. Amendments 2 and 11 make technical changes in the AFL-CIO Constitution.

Amendment 2 eliminates unnecessary steps in dealing with late-submitted convention resolutions and amendments. It also eliminates the approval by the convention of convention committees, which by the time of the convention have finished their work.

Amendment 11 makes the language of the retirement plan for executive officers consistent with the Constitution, giving the Executive Council the authority to amend the plan.

On behalf of the Constitution Committee, I move adoption of Amendments 2 and 11.
...The motion was seconded by several unidentified delegates.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends adoption of Amendments 2 and 11. Is there discussion?

Seeing none, the question is on the adoption of Amendments 2 and 11. The committee recommends that you vote for these amendments.

All those in favor of the amendments, signify by saying aye. Those opposed no. Amendments 2 and 11 are adopted.

(The text of the amendments as adopted by the convention follow.)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 2

Updating and Streamlining Convention Procedures

THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT would eliminate a provision requiring convention approval of convention committees. This provision is unworkable given the length of time between conventions—four years—and the need for convention committees to perform the vast majority of their work in the weeks and months leading up to the convention, before convention delegates are selected or designated.

The proposed amendment would eliminate an unnecessary step in the process of handling resolutions and amendments that are submitted after the constitutional 30-day deadline. Under the amendment, late resolutions and amendments would be referred to the convention, which only would consider them if there was unanimous consent to do so. The amendment would eliminate the unnecessary step of sending the resolutions and amendments first to the Executive Council for the council's referral to the convention. This amendment was suggested by the AFL-CIO's convention parliamentarian.

- a. Amend Article IV (Convention), Section 10 as follows:

[language to be deleted in italics and brackets]

- i. The President shall appoint, in consultation with the Executive Council, prior to the convention *[and subject to the approval of the convention]*, such committees as are necessary to conduct the affairs of the convention. Such committees may meet before the convention and shall proceed to consider all resolutions, constitutional amendments, appeals, petitions, reports and memorials submitted to the convention, and shall report on them to the convention.

- a. Amend Article IV Section 11(b) as follows:

[language to be deleted in italics and brackets]

- i. All resolutions, constitutional amendments, appeals, petitions, reports and memorials received after the times stipulated in subsection (a) above or during the convention shall be referred to the *[Executive Council. The Executive Council shall refer all such proposals to the]* convention, which shall consider them only upon unanimous consent.

(End Constitutional Amendment No. 2)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 11

Executive Council Authority

Article V, Section 5 is amended as follows *(New language in bold and italics)*

Section 5

(a) The President, Secretary-Treasurer, and Executive Vice President, or any one of them, after having served five years as an Executive Officer of the Federation and either having reached age 65 or having served in any capacity a total of 20 years with any organization affiliated with the Federation, and/or with the Federation, shall, upon leaving office, have the title of President Emeritus or Emerita, Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus or Emerita and Executive Vice President Emeritus or Emerita and shall render such service to the Federation in an advisory and consultative status as is mutually agreed to by the Executive Council and the emeritus or emerita officer.

(b) The President Emeritus or Emerita, Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus or Emerita and Executive Vice President Emeritus or Emerita shall, in consideration of their active service prior to leaving office, be afforded for life a pension, payable weekly, in an annual amount equal to 60 percent of either the highest annual salary received as an Executive Officer or thereafter paid to the corresponding Executive Officer, whichever is greater. If, after attaining eligibility for this pension, such Executive Officer shall die, either before or after receiving such pension, the Officer's surviving spouse shall be paid an annual annuity for life, payable in weekly installments, of 30 percent of either the highest salary received by such Executive Officer, as an Executive Officer, or thereafter paid to the corresponding Executive Officer, whichever is greater. The Executive Council is authorized and directed to enter into a legal and binding agreement with the President, the Secretary-Treasurer, and the Executive Vice President to make these retirement compensation and annuity benefits payable by the Federation for their intended duration pursuant to the terms and conditions of this Section. The Executive Council is also authorized to provide, after such benefits become non-forfeitable, for (1) the cash-out of a portion of these retirement compensation and annuity benefits (through accelerated payment of the present value thereof) where the officer will be subject to taxes on the value of benefits not yet otherwise payable, and (2) appropriate arrangements, including payment by the Federation, for payment of employment taxes attributable to these retirement compensation and annuity benefits. ***Notwithstanding the foregoing, the Executive Council is authorized to modify or eliminate the benefits provided in this section.***

(End Constitutional Amendment No. 11)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 10

Executive Council Membership

VICE PRESIDENT MICHAEL SACCO, Seafarers International Union: The committee also recommends approval of Amendment 10, dealing with the terms of office for Executive Council members.

The amendment gives an affiliated national union the power to ask the AFL-CIO Executive Council to declare a seat vacant if an Executive Council member from that union ceases to hold office because of retirement or defeat in an election, or other reasons.

Now, if a union asks, the council will oblige and declare the seat vacant, but it's up to the national union whether or when to ask. So if a union wanted to have more time from when the officer stopped holding office until that officer was no longer on the AFL-CIO Executive Council, the amendment would accommodate that, but the affiliate controls the timing.

On behalf of the committee, I move the adoption of Amendment 10.

...The motion was seconded by several unidentified delegates.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends the adoption of Amendment 10.

Is there any discussion?

Seeing none, the question is on the adoption of Amendment 10. The committee recommends that you vote for the amendment.

All those in favor of the amendment, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no.

Amendment 10 is adopted.

(The text of the amendment as adopted by the convention follows.)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 10

Executive Council Membership

An individual must be a member of an AFL-CIO-affiliated organization in order to be elected to the AFL-CIO Executive Council as an AFL-CIO Vice President. Vice Presidents are elected and participate on the Executive Council as individuals, but, almost universally, at the time of their election to the Council they are incumbent officers of affiliated national or international unions, trade or industrial departments or state, area, or local central bodies. And, on the Executive Council they customarily speak for the affiliated organizations in which they hold office.

The proposed amendment would give national and international unions, trade and industrial departments, and state, area, and local central bodies the authority to request that the position of an AFL-CIO Vice President be declared vacant if that Vice President no longer holds office with the requesting affiliate. The Executive Council has authority to fill Executive Council vacancies pursuant to Article VI, Section 4.

Amend Article V (Officers), Section 2 as follows:

- a. Each officer shall be a member of an affiliated organization.
- b. In the event a Vice President during his or her term ceases to hold office in the organization of which the Vice President is a member, the organization may request, in writing, that the position of that Vice President be declared vacant, and the Executive Council shall grant the request.***
(End Constitutional Amendment No. 10)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 12

Size of Executive Council

HILL: Finally, on behalf of the committee and the Executive Council, I'd like to recommend the adoption of Amendment Number 12, the "Size of Executive Council."

Excuse me. I'm sorry. The amendment establishes the size of the council at 55 seats, that's its current size. The Constitution says that the council was 51 seats, but the number has grown due to re-affiliations and expansion for diversity, both very good things. The council voted unanimously to recommend Amendment Number 12 for adoption.

Amendment Number 12 subsumes Amendment Number 8, which put every union with 10,000 members or more on the Executive Council. So in adopting Amendment Number 12, the convention will take no action on Amendment Number 8.

On behalf of the committee, I move the adoption of Amendment Number 12.

...The motion was seconded by several unidentified delegates.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends the adoption of Amendment 12. Is there discussion?

Seeing none, the question is on the adoption of Amendment 12. The committee recommends that you vote for the amendment.

All those in favor of the amendment, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no. Amendment 12 is adopted.

(The text of the amendment as adopted by the convention follows. The amendment covered by it appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 12

Size of Executive Council

Amend Article V, Section 1 as follows (new language in *bold and italics*)

The officers shall consist of a President, a Secretary-Treasurer and an Executive Vice President, who shall be the Executive Officers, and ~~51~~ **55** Vice Presidents; provided that between conventions the Executive Council shall have the power in the event of either an affiliation with the AFL-CIO of a presently unaffiliated national or international union, or the arising of other circumstances that implicate the solidarity of the labor movement, to create one or more additional Vice Presidencies pending the next regular election of Vice Presidents and to select members to fill those positions until the next regular election; provided further that the number of such additional Vice Presidencies shall not exceed eight.

(End Constitutional Amendment No. 12)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 3

Supporting AFL-CIO Unions Subjected to Raids by Non-Affiliated Unions

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 4

Prohibiting Article XX Protection to Non-Affiliated Entities

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 5
Supporting a New Generation of Leaders

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 6
Repeal of Article XX

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 7
Executive Council and Executive Committee Voting

HILL: The committee also voted to refer Amendment Numbers 3, 4, 6 and 7 to the Executive Council, and take no action on Amendment Number 5.

Amendment Numbers 3, 4 and 6 concern Article XX on raiding. On Saturday, the Executive Council adopted a statement calling for the review of Article XX on raiding and included raiding by unions that held solidarity charters. The review will be completed no later than February of 2014.

Mr. Chairman, this concludes the report of the Constitution Committee. Thank you very much.

(The texts of the referred amendments and the amendment without action appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

TRUMKA: But it was a constructive Constitution Committee. I can tell you that.

Thanks, Ed, and to the other members of the committee. Great work.

And before I move on, I want to recognize Sito Pantoja, I think at mike Number 2. Sito.

SITO PANTOJA, Machinists: Thank you, Brother Chairman.

Before I get into my remarks, they will be very brief, I'd just like to ask a question for clarification.

TRUMKA: Yes, sir.

PANTOJA: It's my understanding that there will be no debate or voting on this amendment. Is that correct?

TRUMKA: That's correct, sir.

PANTOJA: Thank you, Brother.

Brother Chairman, I rise to speak on the three articles that were just—the three amendments that were mentioned regarding Article XX. As you know, and most of the delegates in this room know, Article XX is one of the most important articles of our Constitution. Why? Because it provides for a means of solidarity between affiliates. It provides for protections for small unions against big unions that have an economic financial gain. More importantly, it provides for the protection against raids from other affiliates. It also provides—well, let me back up a little bit.

It provides protection against raiding. Raiding, Brother Chairman, is the poison pill that destroys the labor movement.

TRUMKA: Hear, hear. (*Applause*)

PANTOJA: Brother Chairman, raiding is the betrayal of solidarity, Brother Chairman.

Brother Chairman, raiding is not acceptable. It should not be acceptable in the House of Labor. Not in this house. (*Applause*)

Brother Chairman, I stood up and I applauded you this morning because you spoke so eloquently. You spoke from your heart like I am now. You spoke about the ultimate power, the ultimate power that does not belong to the Executive Council, the ultimate power that does not belong to the committees, but it belongs to the delegates of this federation. (*Applause*)

Brother Chairman, hundreds of delegates are here today. They traveled thousands of miles so that they could discuss and debate these amendments in a democratic way, a democratic way that we always endorse.

I'm upset because we will not have the ability to do that today.

I stand up and I'm standing on our rights today to fight for democracy. I ask that this committee does not hijack these amendments from the delegates who are empowering this delegation, and to bring those amendments back for a vote and a debate.

Thank you, Brother Chairman, for the opportunity to speak with you. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Sito. Brother Sito, I couldn't agree with you more about raiding.

When we represent 11.3% of the membership and 89% of the members are not organized in this country, it makes little sense for us to be fighting over the 11½% and letting the other 89% go by.

We are going to address those issues in a very deliberate, analytical way, and I promise you that you and President Buffenbarger, and anybody else who wants to talk on that subject, will get more than the opportunity so that we can amend all the documents that we have, Article XX and XXI, as well as solidarity charters, and we can do it in a comprehensive way.

I appreciate your sentiment. I appreciate your good will, Brother.

And for our report from the Committee on Community Partnerships and Grassroots Power, we will now hear from Brother Jim Boland. Jim?

REPORT OF COMMITTEE 3: THE COMMITTEE ON COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS AND GRASSROOTS POWER (Resumed)

RESOLUTION NO. 17

Prisons and Profits—The Big Business Behind Mass Incarceration

VICE PRESIDENT JAMES BOLAND, Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers: Brothers and sisters, mass incarceration has become one of the travesties of our time. Is anyone surprised that the population in our correctional system has exploded since the business of for-profit incarceration was born? The soaring rate of incarceration has had a disproportionate impact on people and communities of color.

Today, one out of every 36 Hispanic men and one in every 15 black men is incarcerated. In many of the largest U.S. cities, more than half of the young black men are either incarcerated or released but now stigmatized with a criminal record.

The surge in incarceration stems largely from increased penalties for nonviolent and minor crimes, such as the possession of small amounts of drugs and lengthy or even lifetime incarceration as a result of three strikes sentencing laws.

The private prison industry has lobbied for these laws and for stricter incarceration policies for undocumented immigrants. Their business model depends on growing the correctional system for the sake of profit without any regard to justice. Their need to maximize profits results in cutting corners on basic services for medical care to clothing and food.

In addition, privately run correctional facilities are not adequately staffed, and the jobs that they do provide come with low pay, little training, and they jeopardize the staff themselves, the incarcerated, and those who live in the communities with jails and prisons.

Mass incarceration has led to dangerous levels of inmate overcrowding in many of our jails and detention facilities, resulting in increased prison violence that victimizes staffs and inmates alike. The impact of mass incarceration is felt by neighborhoods and families and individuals.

As a result of mass incarceration, already impoverished neighborhoods have lost thousands of working-age men. Family relationships are strained, income earners are lost, and parents and children are separated, and those who have been released from the correctional system face discrimination that prevents them from voting, serving on juries, obtaining student loans, and receiving public benefits and other services and, indeed, often from finding employment.

Make no mistake, there is a school-to-prison pipeline that pushes young people, especially children of color, out of school and into the criminal justice system.

In Resolution 17, the AFL-CIO states its firm belief that the operation of our criminal justice system is an inherently governmental function, and we will support ending the privatization of correctional facilities and services.

The resolution commits the AFL-CIO to support efforts to ease prison overcrowding, pass fair criminal sentencing policies, and reforms that speed the justice process and eliminate unnecessary pre-trial detention time.

We support training, education, probation and parole strategies that assist in reintegrating people who have served their time into our communities, and a public policy focus on the treatment of users of illegal drugs, and supports treating drug use as a public health issue.

We also call for restoration of full citizenship rights for those convicted of nonviolent offenses once they have completed their prison sentences. (*Applause*)

The AFL-CIO will work with affiliates and allies to support legislation and policies that help schools and communities develop and fund programs to reduce the number of young people who drop out of school and are suspended or expelled, and will support programs that work with law enforcement officers to educate rather than penalize young people.

Now I'd like to invite Dr. Steven Pitts from UC Berkeley to share his comments on

this resolution. I believe he's at mike 2. Dr. Pitts.

STEVEN PITTS, University of California, Berkeley: Thank you. I'm incredibly happy to be speaking here in support of this Resolution Number 17. It is so important that as we talk about deepening the connection between labor and community, the convention speaks to an issue that severely affects so many lives and so many working families.

For the slogan of "Prosperity for All" to have meaning, we must examine the specific pathways of poverty, and then organize to block those pathways. Just as working without a collective bargaining agreement is a pathway to poverty, just as working in the shadows without papers is the pathway to poverty, so, too, is leaving communities shaped by massive incarceration a pathway to poverty.

Due to an earlier era of globalization over a hundred years ago, economic elites transformed economies throughout the world and drove workers from China to build railroads in America, drove workers from Europe to work in the mills in America, and drove workers from the U.S. South to work in factories up north. The elites' response to the social dislocation they caused was to build sweatshops and slums. Our response was, there's a better way. We built unions.

During this recent era of corporate globalization, the academic elites have once again transformed economies throughout the world, this time driving workers from Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America and Asia to Europe and the United States.

The elites' response to this social dislocation they caused was to build a two-tier labor market that kept new immigrants in low-wage jobs and kept immigrant communities in terror of deportation raids. Our response was, there's a better way. We're fighting for justice and a decent system.

But too often we ignore another impact of corporate globalization, the resulting desocialization and the climbing tax basis have devastated our cities and destroyed dreams for many residents. Their response to this dislocation was to build a system of mass incarceration which has a disproportionate impact on communities of color. Our response is that, once again, there's a better way. Let's end mass incarceration.

It impacts members who work in the system, often toiling in terrible working conditions, which is the flip side of inmate conditions prisoners live in. It impacts members who work in public agencies where budgets have been cut as tax dollars are used to fund prison construction. Most importantly, it impacts members themselves that have been incarcerated, or have family members who are incarcerated.

So I strongly speak in favor of this resolution as my way to strongly support the federation as it takes its first steps to end the system of mass incarceration, a system that stands in the way of building economy for prosperity for all. Thank you.

BOLAND: Thank you. Now, sisters and brothers, this resolution is recommended by the Resolutions Committee, and I move its adoption.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

Before we begin debate, I'd like to say a few things about this issue.

You know, what does it say about a country that we abandon our communities,

fail in our mission to educate our children, ship good jobs to other shores and then lock up the people who get left behind?

Now, I know crime is an unfortunate evil of our society and that law and order is an important part of any democracy. But you see, the first time I toured a prison, the most striking thing I saw, and I already knew the statistics but it's a whole different thing to see with your own eyes, was how absolutely packed our prisons are with young black men and young brown men.

See, we're not locking up individuals as much as we're locking up demographics. And that right there is the result of bias. It's the result of prejudice. And it is absolutely wrong. *(Applause)*

See, America does not now need, and never has needed, to imprison so many of our young people, especially young men of color. Too many who fill our prisons right now are nonviolent, come from low-income households with little access to jobs and with little or no opportunity or hope.

We've seen that pattern before. A hundred years ago a common crime sending black men to work on the prison chain gangs was vagrancy.

In some states the crime was not to have a job. Now, this isn't much different. The truth is, as a nation we punish people for being brown and for being black, and it has to stop. We can't write people off. *(Applause)*

We can't write them off for being an addict. We can't write them off for making a mistake. We can't write people off for dropping out of high school. And we can't let the color of a person's skin or their economic status determine how they are treated by our justice system.

Like so many other problems in America today, there's a big money industry driving it. America has a runaway for-profit prison system that is immoral and wrong, a system that profits from misery, a system that does not dispense justice but denies it.

The evidence is overwhelming and its conclusions are inescapable. Mass incarceration is a betrayal of the American promise. The practice hurts our people and our communities. It keeps wages low. It suppresses democracy, and we can't afford to imprison so many people nor can our families, our communities or our country afford the loss of productivity of these people.

This resolution is emphatically not a comment on the difficult, invaluable and all-too-often underappreciated work of our prison guards. These men and women do hard jobs in dangerous conditions. As a nation, we can and we must do better. We must do better and we will do better.

These prisons aren't solving anything, they're only making matters worse. And it's time for us to replace the school-to-prison pipeline with good jobs and a voice on the job, which have always been the best way to break the cycle of poverty and to lift our communities up rather than to throw them in jail. *(Applause)*

We've got to stop investing in private prisons and start investing in working people. *(Applause)*

Brothers and sisters, adoption of Resolution 17 has been moved and seconded. Do I hear debate right now? Delegate at mike 3.

ROXANNE BROWN, United Steelworkers: Mr. Chairman, I'm a proud member of the United Steelworkers Union.

I rise in strong support of Resolution Number 17.

"What does labor want? We want more schoolhouses and less jails, more books and less guns, more learning and less vice, more leisure and less greed, more justice and less revenge. We want more opportunities to cultivate our better nature."

The AFL-CIO's first president, Samuel Gompers, said that more than 100 years ago.

Sisters and brothers, our union supports Resolution Number 17 because more than 125 years later we are still fighting for more schoolhouses and less jails. In the United States, we spend six times more money on prisons than we do on education.

According to the National Dropout Prevention Center, the average cost to care for an inmate is \$55,000. America ranks Number One in the world in incarceration rates. With more than 2 million people incarcerated, we outrank Russia, Cuba, Germany, Libya and every other nation around this Earth.

People with no criminal or violent history are serving sentences of 20, 30, 40 years or more for small drug crimes.

A disproportionate number of these people are people of color. Blacks make up half of the state and local prisons jailed for drug crimes. Black children are 10 times more likely to be arrested for drug crimes than white children, despite higher rates of drug usage among white children.

Sisters and brothers, these are not things we are proud of. We should not be proud of being the best at imprisoning our children, stripping them of their voting rights and the ability to ever lawfully provide for their families. *(Applause)*

Sisters and brothers, that's why this resolution is so important, because we are still fighting for more schoolhouses and less jails. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

JOSHUA PECHTHALT, AFT: Thank you, Chairman Trumka, I'm the president of the California Federation of Teachers and a proud member of the Executive Council of the AFT.

I rise in support of this resolution and urge the sisters and brothers today to vote in support.

I had a long list of reasons to give you why we should vote for this, but I think the sister who just spoke and Professor Pitts eloquently explained the details.

One detail that I will give you is that in the last 30 years, the prison population in this country has jumped from about 2 million to 7 million people, an incredible increase. We have a higher percentage of people imprisoned in this country than in any industrialized country in the world. That's a shame on us as a country.

But now I want to set my notes aside actually and tell you about what this has meant to me personally. I was a high school teacher for more than 20 years and taught at a high school less than two miles away from this convention center, a high school by the name of Manual Arts. Manual Arts is a high school with 100% of the students on free or reduced lunch. One hundred percent of the students are students of color, African American and Latino students.

What I witnessed in my more than 20 years in the classroom at Manual Arts was a systematic defunding of our school, class size increase, the elimination of electives, the elimination of after-school programs for kids so that they had a place to stay after school while their parents worked.

What we saw in these 25 years was the loss of jobs in the community so that teenagers, like I was at one point, could get a job after school and put some money in the bank and feel good about myself. The kids at Manual Arts, very few of them had after-school jobs. Very few of them had the opportunity, because there are few jobs in this community, and especially no jobs for young people.

And so it's not a surprise that when all else fails, the only pipeline for kids is to do stuff they shouldn't be doing and end up in our prisons.

Sisters and brothers, we can do better than that. And this resolution is a resolution that says this body and the AFL-CIO goes on record saying we've got to change our priorities for the people of our country, particularly in communities that need help.

So I urge you to vote for this resolution. I urge you to vote for the students at Manual Arts and other urban schools that need a hand to make a decent life and not end up spending a lifetime in our prisons. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

ROLAND JETER, Amalgamated Transit Union: I want to know whether it's in order to add an amendment to this resolution, and that amendment would be to oppose criminal background checks. As we talk about all of these brothers and sisters that come in and out of these prison systems, what's evolving is criminal background checks. It's still denying them the right of employment.

If that happens, they are going to end up right back into the prison system. So I would ask that we add that amendment to this resolution.

TRUMKA: The delegate asked to amend the resolution, Resolution 17. Is there a second?

...The motion was seconded by several unidentified delegates.

TRUMKA: The debate right now is on the amendment itself. The amendment is to add eliminating background checks.

JETER: Oppose criminal background checks.

TRUMKA: Oppose criminal background checks. Can you say where, Brother.

JETER: Throughout the country.

Right now in Washington, D.C., it's coming up. We just left our convention, and there were delegates in that convention saying in their city the same companies, different companies, the older and transportation companies are bringing these criminal background checks against employees. They may employ them, and while

they are employing them and they are in their probationary period, they go back and do the background checks on them.

TRUMKA: Brother, can you give us the exact wording of your amendment, what you would like to amend?

JETER: I would like to add an amendment that said that this delegation is opposed to criminal background checks for the hiring of employees or the dismissal and termination of employees.

TRUMKA: It's been moved and seconded that we amend Resolution 17. A "yes" vote is to amend Resolution 17 to oppose background checks. A "no" vote is to keep the resolution as it currently is.

All those in favor of the amendment, signify by saying aye.

All those opposed, signify by saying no. The amendment is defeated.

We are now back on regular debate of Resolution 17.

Seeing no further debate, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 17. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. All opposed, say no.

Resolution 17 is adopted. (*Applause*)

(*The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.*)

RESOLUTION NO. 17

Prisons and Profits—The Big Business Behind Mass Incarceration

IT IS NO COINCIDENCE that the total population in the United States' correctional system has exploded in the decades since the business of for-profit incarceration was born. Between 1980 and 2011 the number of people incarcerated grew from 500,000 to 2.2 million. The rise in the rate of incarceration has had a disproportionate impact on individuals and communities of color. According to a 2008 study from the Pew Center on the States, one out of every 106 white males ages 18 or older is incarcerated, one out of every 36 Hispanic males ages 18 or older is incarcerated and one in every 15 black males ages 18 or older is incarcerated. In many of the largest cities in the United States, more than half of young black men are either in the correctional population or released but now stigmatized with a criminal record.

For-profit prison companies benefit from rising rates of incarceration that stem in large part from changes in laws and procedures that require increased penalties for nonviolent and minor crimes, such as the possession of small amounts of drugs, and lengthy or lifetime incarceration as a result of "three strikes" sentencing laws.

The private prison industry has lobbied for such laws as well as stricter incarceration policies for undocumented immigrants. Their business model depends on growing the correctional system for the sake of profit without regard to justice. Private prison corporations even insist on "bed guarantees" in their contracts with states,

demanding that 90 percent and even 100 percent of their beds be filled, sometimes for decades. The for-profit prison industry lobbies for privatizing all aspects of the criminal justice system, including juvenile detention, health care and other services for the incarcerated, the operation of all prisons and jails as well as probation and parole services. But the facts show that the privatization of correctional facilities and services leads to inhumane conditions for the people who work in prisons and jails as well as those who are incarcerated. The need to maximize profits results in cutting corners on basic services—from medical care to clothing and food. In addition, privately run correctional facilities are not adequately staffed and the jobs they do provide come with low pay and little training, thus jeopardizing the staff themselves, the incarcerated, and those who live in the communities in which jails and prisons are located. Mass incarceration has also led to dangerous levels of inmate overcrowding in many of our jails and detention facilities, both public and private. Overcrowding results in increased prison violence that victimizes staff and inmates alike. In California, overcrowded conditions have led to a court-ordered release of over 9,000 inmates, including some who have been convicted of violent crimes.

The impact of mass incarceration can be felt on neighborhoods, families and individuals. The majority of people in the system live in a subset of neighborhoods in the major cities of each state. When people who have been in prison or jail, or on parole or probation, return to civil life, they return to these same neighborhoods. As a result of mass incarceration, these already impoverished neighborhoods have lost thousands of working-age men. For families, relationships are strained, income earners are lost and parents and children are separated. Those who have been released from the correctional system face institutionalized discrimination, unable to break free of the stigma. Various state and local laws and policies institutionalize unfairness, preventing those reintegrated into society from voting, serving on juries, obtaining student loans, and receiving public benefits and other services. Returning to neighborhoods long suffering from economic divestment, high unemployment, poor infrastructure and isolation, those re-entering civil society also have few opportunities for advanced education and good jobs.

Another factor in the historic high numbers of people in the correctional system is the “school-to-prison pipeline,” a phrase that describes the policies and practices that push young people, especially children of color, out of school and into the criminal justice system. Contributing to this path toward incarceration are overly harsh disciplinary policies, budget cuts that have left schools without resources to support students and families, zero-tolerance policies and increased school-based arrests. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund reports that black young people are more likely to be expelled, suspended or arrested than their white peers for similar conduct. The disproportionate effect of the school-to-prison pipeline on young people of color is demonstrated in these statistics: In 2000, African Americans represented 17% of public school enrollment, but 34% of all suspensions. Similarly, in 2003, African American young people made up 16% of the juvenile population but accounted for 45% of the juvenile arrests.

Of the discrimination faced by those coming out of the criminal justice system, the loss of the vote symbolizes our nation's failure to provide former offenders with opportunities to participate in our democratic society. An estimated 5.85 million Americans are disenfranchised because of legal barriers to their voting rights. Among the disenfranchised, about 45%—2.6 million people—have completed their sentences. According to The Sentencing Project, 13 states disenfranchise inmates only. Five states disenfranchise inmates and parolees. Nineteen states disenfranchise inmates, parolees and probationers. Eleven states extend disenfranchisement to ex-felons. Only two states have no restrictions. Many states make the restitution of voting rights a complicated and cumbersome process, making the right to vote a fiction rather than a practice. The end result of this pattern of discrimination is that 7.7% of African American adults are disenfranchised, and in some states that level is much higher (Florida 23%, Kentucky 22% and Virginia 20%).

In short, our nation's profit-driven justice system is producing a level of mass incarceration that is anything but just.

RESOLVED,

- The AFL-CIO believes that the operation of our criminal justice system is an inherently governmental function. The AFL-CIO will support legislation, policies and practices that end the privatization of correctional facilities or services.
- The AFL-CIO will support efforts to alleviate prison overcrowding by advocating for adequate staffing for correctional institutions and the conversion of privately operated prisons to public operation.
- The AFL-CIO will support criminal sentencing policies that ensure punishments are fair, commensurate with the crime and consistent with public safety requirements. The AFL-CIO will oppose legislation and policies that require inappropriately long mandatory sentences for nonviolent crimes.
- The AFL-CIO will support reforms—including adequate staffing of our criminal justice system—that accelerate the justice process and eliminate unnecessary pre-trial detention time.
- The AFL-CIO will support the effective use and full funding of training, education, probation and parole strategies that assist in reintegrating people who have served their time into our communities.
- The AFL-CIO will support a public policy focus on the treatment of users of illegal drugs and supports treating drug use as a public health issue.
- The AFL-CIO will support the restoration of full citizenship rights for those convicted of nonviolent offenses once they have completed their prison sentences, including the right to vote, the right to serve on a jury, and full

access to government services such as financial aid for education, housing and employment assistance.

- The AFL-CIO will work with affiliates and allies to support legislation and policies that support schools and communities in developing and funding programs to reduce the number of young people who drop out of school or are suspended or expelled and will support programs, such as DARE, that work with law enforcement officers to educate rather than penalize youth.

(End Resolution No. 17)

Now, that wraps up our work for today. So, once again, we'll hear from Secretary-Treasurer Liz Shuler for announcements. Liz.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SECRETARY-TREASURER ELIZABETH H. SHULER: OK, everyone. We're in the homestretch for today, and I have a number of announcements as usual.

Remember that it's time for the Workers Lift Up the City cut-out action. You've probably been seeing the cut-outs out in the lobby. We're going to gather as soon as we leave this room at Solidarity Stage 2, and then we'll head out to join local union members and community partners to place those beautifully painted cut-outs of workers all around the city.

At 6:30 this evening we have the "Bread and Rosie Reception—Creating a Movement that Matters to Women." That's taking place at the Westin Hotel out at the Pool Deck Plaza. Sisters, you do not want to miss this event. Shuttles will be available from the convention center to the Westin.

Tomorrow morning at 7:30 in the atrium, which is right downstairs, right as you walk into the convention center, there's an immigration rally and press event. So come show your support and call on Congress to pass immigration reform with workers' rights activists and citizenship activists.

Tomorrow afternoon, as you know, we will have nominations of the officers for the AFL-CIO, and, if needed, those elections will be held Wednesday morning.

For those of you who are going to the baseball game tomorrow, we will be leaving right from the convention center. You will not have time to go back to the hotel to change, so bring your baseball gear, bring your T-shirts, your ball caps, your mitts if you're going to catch some of those fly balls—and Rich is bringing his pitching arm to the game. So bring all of that with you tomorrow morning because you will not have time to go back to your rooms.

One final ask I have this afternoon. We were all moved yesterday by Sister Myrtle Witbooi and the International Domestic Workers Network. Right now we can actually support them. If everyone could take out their phones, take out your mobile device, and I'm going to do this as well.

If you take your phones out right now and text the word "dignity" to 235246—I'm calling it up now. So type in 235246 and text the word "dignity," D-I-G-N-I-T-Y for those of us who are spelling challenged.

235246. The word "dignity." That will sign you on to the petition that's asking California Governor Jerry Brown to sign the California Domestic Workers Bill of Rights. We are right on the cusp, so you can help protect the dignity of domestic workers right now by taking out your phone and texting the word "dignity" to 235246.

Thank you for bearing with me. The convention is now adjourned until 8:30 a.m. tomorrow morning. We will see you in the morning. Thank you.

(At 4:48 p.m., Monday, September 9, 2013, the convention was recessed, to reconvene at 8:30 a.m., Tuesday, September 10, 2013.)

THIRD DAY

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 2013



MORNING SESSION

The convention was called to order at 8:33 a.m., President Trumka presiding.

PRESIDENT RICHARD L. TRUMKA: The convention will come to order. Thank you. Now, yesterday we heard the good news that a judge has ruled that the Indiana “right to work” law violates the state’s constitution barring for services. (*Applause*)

I want to acknowledge the hard work of our sister, Nancy Guyott, president of the Indiana State AFL-CIO, on the state’s “right to work” fight. Thank you, Nancy. (*Applause*)

Now, we have a packed morning before us, taking up several resolutions from the Committee on Shared Prosperity in the Global Economy about critical steps that we must take to make the national and world economy work for working families, not just the wealthy and not just the powerful corporations. We’ll cover the topics of good jobs and economic security, rising wages, tax fairness, safe jobs, retirement security, and bankruptcy and financial regulation.

And we’re very fortunate to have two distinguished guests this morning—Nobel Laureate Joseph Stiglitz and our new Secretary of Labor Tom Perez. I know we’re anxious to hear from both of them.

So, right now, it’s time again to hear the report of the Credentials Committee, and I would like to call on committee member Matt Loeb to report.

REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE (*Resumed*)

VICE PRESIDENT MATTHEW LOEB, Theatrical Stage Employees: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. If you would indulge me, before I give the report I would just like to take the liberty to recognize the fine IATSE stagehands and technicians who are doing the sound, lights, camera and AV work in the hall for us this week. You don’t see them much, but if you do, give them a pat on the back. Thank you.

Since the Credentials Committee last reported, 32 additional delegates and 12 additional alternates whose credentials who had previously been approved by the Credentials Committee have registered. In addition, in the interest of full participation at this convention, the committee has approved the credentials of two alternate delegates whose credentials were received late. The Credentials Committee recommends the additional delegates and alternates be seated.

The complete list of delegates and alternates is being submitted for the record at this time. On behalf of the committee, I move adoption of the Credentials Committee report.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that the report of the Credentials Committee be adopted. Is there any discussion?

Seeing none, the question is on the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee.

All those in favor of the report, signify by saying aye. All those opposed, nay. The report's adopted. Thank you.

Matt, Credentials Committee, thank you.

Now, the labor movement is all of us who work, creating America every day, united, as one. Our movement is building a world where we value work, where all those who work share in the wealth that we create and where our nation prospers because we prosper together.

Today, as we gather in convention, the working people of the world create this world, create through our labor wealth such as has never been seen in human history. And yet, we live in the world of mass unemployment and growing inequality, a world where the power of global corporations is growing, and the principles of democracy are everywhere under assault by the power of money. Nowhere is that more true than right here in America.

We, the people who do the work of America, are fantastically more productive than we were just a generation ago. Yet a few people in our country have systematically taken the wealth all of us create.

As I said yesterday, over the last 15 years, all of the wage increases in this country have gone to the top 10% of us. All of it. That one fact tells you all you need to know about what's wrong.

Today's agenda is about the kind of country and the kind of world that we want to build. Today is about what we do when we're organized. Today we're going to take up a set of resolutions that will define what the labor movement is about for the coming years.

As part of the planning for this convention, the AFL-CIO established a Committee on Shared Prosperity in the Global Economy, co-chaired by Leo Gerard of the Steelworkers and Roberta Reardon of SAG-AFTRA, with Chicago Federation of Labor President Jorge Ramirez as vice chair.

Today, that committee has an extraordinary presentation. First, we're going to see a video of working people and experts talking about our hopes for shared prosperity and our determination as a labor movement to make shared prosperity real.

Let's see the video.

...A video presentation was shown to the delegation.

TRUMKA: Now, the message of that video couldn't be clearer. As we said yesterday, we've got our priorities upside down, but we have the power to turn America right-side up.

Because, brothers and sisters, the global economy is not the weather. We can change it through the power of solidarity. And we must, because a world run by and for the 1% is not just wrong, it doesn't work.

You know, we are always told that greed is good, that we can't afford to care about each other, that we can't afford to raise up the poor, that we must always

give more to the rich and powerful or otherwise somehow the world will just stop working.

Those are lies. The truth is greed and inequality do not work.

Now I want to call to the podium a man who, as much as anyone in the world, has shown that in this global economy, the only prosperity is shared prosperity.

That man is Professor Joseph Stiglitz of Columbia University—a winner of the Nobel Prize in economics, economic adviser to presidents and governments all over the world, and champion of the poor in the corridors of power, from the White House to the IMF to the United Nations.

I have to tell you, Joe is a man of real courage. Joe spoke truth to power at the World Bank when the Bank was pushing austerity on the poor, and the World Bank fired him for it. When we were handing out money to banks and foreclosing on families, Joe told the president of the United States our priorities were upside down.

Joe, we are very, very honored to have you with us. Please welcome our friend, Joseph Stiglitz. (*Standing ovation*)

PROFESSOR JOSEPH STIGLITZ **Columbia University**

Thank you very much, Rich, for that introduction. And thank you for inviting me to address you today.

The point that you just raised that the only prosperity, the only sustainable and real prosperity is shared prosperity, is the essential message I want to talk about today.

I'm an economist—I study how economies work and don't work. Like a doctor, we try to understand why our patients sometimes are sick and what we can do about it. One of the reasons it's been so sick is inequality, and I decided to write an article and a book about it.

Two years ago, I wrote an article for *Vanity Fair*—not the usual place for academics to publish, but it did get more readers than my earlier articles in *Econometrica*. (*Laughter*)

The title of the article was "Of the 1 Percent, For the 1 Percent, and By the 1 Percent," which really got to the gist of it. For too long, hardworking, rule-abiding Americans have seen their paychecks shrink or stay the same, while the rule-breakers raked in huge profits and wealth, and made our economy sick and our politics sick, too.

You know the facts. While the productivity of America's workers has soared, wages have stagnated. You've worked hard—since 1979, your output per hour has increased 40%, but pay has barely increased. Meanwhile, the top 1% take home more than 20% of the national income.

The Great Recession made things worse. Some say that the Great Recession ended in 2009. But for most Americans, that's simply wrong. Ninety-five percent of the gains from 2009 to 2012 went to the upper 1%. The rest, the 99%, never recovered.

More than 20 million Americans who would like a full-time job still can't get one. Incomes are still lower than they were a decade and a half ago, wealth in the middle

is back to where it was two decades ago. Young Americans face a mountain of student debt, and dismal job prospects.

We have become the advanced country with the highest level of inequality, with the greatest divide between the rich and the poor. We used to pride ourselves—we were the country in which everyone was middle class. Now that middle class is shrinking and suffering.

The central message of my book, “The Price of Inequality,” is that all of us, rich and poor, are footing the bill for this yawning gap. And that this inequality is not inevitable. It is, as Rich just said, and he said yesterday, it's not like the weather, something that just happened to us. It's not the result of the laws of nature or the laws of economics. Rather, it is something that we create, by our policies, by what we do and what we don't do.

We created this inequality—chose it, really—with laws that weakened unions, that eroded our minimum wage to the lowest level, in real terms, since the 1950s, with laws that allowed CEOs to take a bigger slice of the corporate pie, bankruptcy laws that put Wall Street's toxic innovations ahead of workers. We made it nearly impossible for student debt to be forgiven. We underinvested in education. We taxed gamblers in the stock market at lower rates than people who work for a living, and encouraged investment overseas rather than at home.

Let us be clear—our economy is not working the way a well-working economy should. We have vast unmet needs, but idle workers and machines. We have bridges that need repair, roads and schools that need to be built. We have students that need a 21st century education, but we are laying off teachers. We have empty homes and homeless people. We have rich banks that are not lending to our small businesses, but are instead using their wealth and ingenuity to manipulate markets and exploit working people with predatory lending.

It is plain that the only true and sustainable prosperity is shared prosperity. If we could ensure that everyone who wanted a job and was willing to work hard could get one, we could have an economy and a society that is both more equal and more prosperous.

To achieve that, we need to grow our economy. But we can't do that when paychecks aren't growing, and while insecurity is growing, with looming cuts to Medicare and Social Security. Nor will we achieve it if we have regulators or a Fed chief who protect bankers' jobs and bonuses rather than jobs and rights for all Americans.

We won't achieve it through mindless cutbacks in public spending, whether in schools or hospitals, police or firemen. These are ways to keep our economy sick. And an economy in which 95% of the growth goes to the top 1% can only be called that: Sick.

What we do need is investment in our future—in education, technology and infrastructure.

Our problems are deeper than weak growth. We are losing the ability to call ourselves the land of opportunity. It used to be that what an American could achieve in life was a result of how hard she or he worked. Today, it depends a lot more on the family we are born into, their income and educational attainment. And it's worse

in America than in almost any other advanced country. We are losing the American dream.

If we became the land of opportunity again, we could find our way to being more equal, more dynamic, more prosperous, fairer.

But to achieve this, we need markets to work like they are supposed to. We can't let monopolists and the 1% use their power to siphon off more of the country's income away from ordinary Americans.

Our democracy is in peril. With economic inequality comes political inequality. We have a Supreme Court that declares that corporations are people and should have unchecked rights to spend money to influence politics. At the same time, our unions are being curbed. Rather than a people's government, we are becoming a government of the 1%.

On paper, we may still uphold quality, and the principle of one person, one vote. In reality, some voices are heard more loudly, much more loudly, than others. As a result, we have heard far too much from Wall Street, and not enough from Main Street and America's workers. *(Applause)*

Rather than justice for all, we are evolving into a system of justice for those who can afford it. We have banks that are not only too big to fail, but too big to be held accountable.

One hundred sixty-five years ago, Abraham Lincoln said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." We have become a house divided against itself, divided between the 99% and the 1%, between the workers and those who would exploit them. We have to reunite the house, but it won't happen on its own.

It will only happen if workers come together. If they organize. If they unite to fight for what they know is right, in each and every workplace. *(Applause)*

In each and every community, and in each and every state capital and in Washington. We have to restore not only democracy to Washington, but to the workplace. *(Applause)*

It will only happen when workers realize that they own much of our country's capital through the pension funds, but that we have allowed this capital to be managed in ways that exploit workers and consumers alike. *(Applause)*

We academics can describe what is going on in statistics, but it is you who know what is going on by what you see and experience every day.

The challenge facing you has seldom been greater. You are still a small fraction of America, but you are the largest group representing the vast majority of Americans who work hard and play by the rules.

You must get others to join you, to work with you, to organize with you, to fight with you. It is only you who can raise the voice of ordinary Americans and demand what you have worked so hard for. *(Applause)*

Together we can grow our economy, strengthen our communities, restore the American dream and re-establish our democracy, a government not of the 1%, for the 1%, and by the 1%, but a government of all Americans for all Americans and by all Americans.

Thank you. *(Standing ovation)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Joe. We're truly honored to be fighting this fight together and with you here today. Let's hear it for Joe Stiglitz one more time, please. *(Applause)*

Now I'm going to turn the podium over to Leo Gerard and Roberta Reardon, the co-chairs of the Committee on Shared Prosperity in the Global Economy, to lead us in our discussion of how we take action to build shared prosperity that Joe was talking about. Leo?

REPORT OF COMMITTEE 2: THE COMMITTEE ON SHARED PROSPERITY IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

RESOLUTION NO. 6

Shared Prosperity

VICE PRESIDENT LEO W. GERARD, United Steelworkers: Thank you, Rich.

We owe a great thanks to Professor Stiglitz as well for his remarks. He goes all over the country and often all over the world showing the dysfunction of our global economy and how it really is hurting working people, and he challenges that power every day. So I also want to thank Joe.

Let me say before I get started, I really want to thank Roberta Reardon and Jorge Ramirez for the terrific work we did and the team that we put together with the AFL-CIO. I hope that they're going to scroll the names. They're scrolling the names of our committee.

We had a huge committee that took into account people from academia, people from other movements, the labor movement, a cross-section, there were listening tours all over, and we think that we've managed to put together, with the help of all of these people, some pretty good resolutions that are going to show us the distance that we have to go.

Our committee's work on Resolution 6, we have a long distance to go before we get to that shared prosperity that we're talking about. Throughout the world, the values of shared prosperity are being knocked out, they're under conflict, they're under attack by the financial elites and by global corporations. But in the end, this conflict is self-defeating.

A world of radical inequality doesn't work. We see what's happening in America with radical inequality. We see that we have more poverty than ever. We see that our democracy itself is under attack, all driven by the 1% and their radical approach to economics.

What will it take to make our shared vision of real prosperity come to pass with rising wages, thriving communities, quality and a true democracy that doesn't try to suppress workers' rights, minority rights, students' rights, seniors' rights to vote, and job security and retirement and health care security?

Brothers and sisters, we know what it will take. The global labor movement and our allies know what it will take—many of whom are with us today and you will hear from, and some of you have already met them—a global movement of working people united in a common purpose to improve for everyone.

In Resolution 6, we pledge ourselves to working to build a future of shared

prosperity, the shared prosperity in a nation and a world in which no one, no one, no one, is left behind.

I want to take a moment to introduce someone to you. How many of you believe that that video that was released that showed the disdain that Romney had for working people that came to be known as the “47% Video,” how many of you have seen that? Raise your hands.

How many believe that that had an influence on the outcome of the election? Raise your hands.

Well, let me take this moment to introduce the guy who did that video, he's in the hall. I'd like him to stand. Scott Prouty. Give Scott a hand. (*Standing ovation*)

I am proud and humbled to say that Scott Prouty now works in our international union's political department, and when this is over, he's getting his ass out to Virginia to help pull in the vote.

When I talked to Scott, he said, “Leo, when I had that video, I spent a week trying to figure out what I could do with it, or what I should do with it,” and he said, “I decided I had to stand up.”

Well, sisters and brothers, we believe on our committee that the resolutions that have been drafted are giving us the tools to stand up and fight back.

So on behalf of the committee, I would like to move adoption of Resolution 6, and I'd like to say it's time that we stand up and fight back the way Scott did. Thanks, Rich.

TRUMKA: Thank you. OK. The committee recommends that Resolution 6 be adopted. Is there discussion? Discussion?

Question is on adoption of Resolution 6. The committee recommends that you vote for it. For what purpose does delegate at mike 3 rise?

ROXANNE BROWN, USW: Mr. Chairman, I'm a proud member of the United Steelworkers. I rise in strong support of Resolution 6.

TRUMKA: Proceed.

BROWN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As an immigrant to this country from Jamaica, the very hope of shared prosperity that America offers is what brought my family to this country and what brings millions of other immigrants and their families to this country as well; the very promise of the American dream that Mr. Stiglitz just talked about: Good jobs, home ownership, good schools, access to good health care and then maybe one day, after long years of working hard and honorably, enjoying a retirement. That's why we come here.

My family has been very lucky in that we've really reaped some of the great benefits that this great country provides for immigrants. But we've seen in the 40 years that we've been here those very benefits being eroded at every single step. We've seen it in states across the country. We see it in Washington, D.C., every single day.

Brothers and sisters, we have to raise our collective voices and we have to fight back. We have to push against every single action to take away the hopes and the dreams that not just immigrants, but Americans have about a shared prosperity for all

of us, a future for all of us, not just for the 1%, but for all of us who make up the 99%.

We have to push against corporations and unscrupulous members of Congress and policymakers across the country whose only goal is to make sure that the 1% thrive at the expense of the rest of us.

Mr. Chairman, I strongly support Resolution 6. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Chair recognizes that delegate at mike 2.

PATRICK GALLAGHER, North Coast (Ohio) Area Labor Federation: I'm president of the North Coast Area Labor Federation, president of the North Shore Central Labor Council, and also a proud member of the United Steel, Paper and Forestry, Rubber, Manufacturing, Energy, Allied Industrial and Service Workers International Union for 37 years. *(Applause)*

I had the pleasure of an experience with the Steelworkers to travel to visit our brothers and sisters in *Los Mineros* in the Republic of Mexico, and visited them and shared some of their sacrifices and battles. They had a strike down there where four members were murdered by the company that owned the plant.

When we went down there on the plant tour to visit the steel mill owned by Arcelor Mittal, they held us outside the gates for over two hours. We thought about rushing into the plant ourselves, but when we noticed the guards had AK-47s, we decided we better wait our chance to get in with their OK.

Once we got in the plant, the first thing we noticed, there was new equipment everywhere. Every worker had new safety equipment, new personal protective equipment. There were machine guards, guardrails with wet paint, brand new. They knew that when we come in there, we could force them to increase the safety for those people.

In the way that the *Los Mineros* have fought, they have doubled their wages in the last 10 years. So we can come back for global prosperity, but we need to fight because I've seen where the 1% wants to take us, and we don't want to go there.

So stand up, fight back, and support this resolution. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. I told Leo he should give you a raise just for being able to recite from memory the entire title of the Steelworkers. *(Laughter)*

I'm sure you will.

The question is on adoption of Resolution 6. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Oh, come on.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Thank you. Opposed, no. Resolution 6 is adopted. *(Applause)*

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 6

Shared Prosperity

THE LABOR MOVEMENT is all of us who work, creating America every day, united,

as one. Our movement is building a world where all those who work share in the wealth we create, where our rights are honored in the places where we work, and where our nation and our world prosper because we prosper together.

Our movement is open to all who work in America, to all who know two great truths—that when each of us leaves our homes and goes to work, we remain all day long a human being—not a commodity, not an input—but a human being, with rights and dignity, deserving of respect and a voice and a share of the great wealth we together have created. And that while we each are unique individuals, we are not alone—that we live, work and dream together—and when we come together, at work, at the polling place, in the public square, we are strong—stronger than the power of money, stronger than the power of hate, strong enough to build a future of shared prosperity for our country and our world.

We do the work of America—we heal the sick and fight the fires, build bridges, clean homes, write software and teach children. We mine iron and coal, forge steel, build trucks and drive buses. We design, build, fly, repair and clean airplanes. We keep the lights turned on and the Internet connected, the trains moving, the water flowing to your tap and the movies playing in your multiplex.

Our movement is as old as our nation, and as new as the immigrant hotel worker, the apprentice, the new teacher coming to work for the first time. Some of us collectively bargain with our employers to ensure we see the fruits of our labor. Powerful corporations use unfair laws to keep too many of us from the bargaining table. But we all make our voices heard—through organizing committees, associations, workers centers, in our communities and at the polls. Our movement is greater than any particular organization. It is a movement of all who work and all who seek social and economic justice.

We are connected by the daily work we do in our communities and in a global economy that links us across borders and around the world with all others who work. Our vision of shared prosperity is global—it must apply as much for the worker sewing shirts in Bangladesh as for the worker who wears that shirt in Boston or Brussels.

What does shared prosperity mean?

Shared prosperity means:

- a secure job that pays a living wage in a safe workplace for all who seek one;
- a voice at work—through our unions and through collective bargaining with our employers;
- health care from the newborn wail to the last breath that also covers all the moments in between;

- aging with dignity, peace of mind and quality of life;
- jobs that applaud and support us being with our families—our children, our parents and our grandparents—when our families need us, while providing the living wage our families need; and
- ensuring our children are cared for in safe and nurturing environments that provide a foundation for lifelong learning and good health; that our children all have equal access to high-quality public education—and that all of us can pursue advanced education and learning we need to lead full and prosperous lives without sinking into lifelong debt.

Only through democracy will we achieve shared prosperity. We seek a country where:

- we all have a voice at work—no matter when or how we came here, whether we work in offices, or factories, or fields or homes, no matter whether our employer is a private company, a nonprofit organization or a government agency, no matter whether our employer calls us an independent contractor or an employee;
- we are all able to vote, without interference, without intimidation, without waiting all day or far into the night; and where
- one person, one vote, not \$1 million, one politician, is both the law and the reality of our nation's public life.

Democracy and solidarity—in the workplace and in public life—is the only cure for the power of concentrated wealth, the power of concentrated finance and global corporations. Democracy in the workplace and in public life means when we are more productive we live better. Democracy means we all contribute to and share in the good things in life—the schools, the parks, the roads and bridges—that make civilization possible. When we together make the investments our country needs, we build a more prosperous future than any of us ever could do alone. Without democracy at work, without collective bargaining, we work harder and create more, but instead of leading better lives, a handful of people hoard ever more wealth and power, becoming so powerful that in the end they threaten the very foundations of our country.

We seek above all good jobs and rising wages for all as we build America's future. Six years into the great economic crisis, America remains a land reeling from the impact of mass joblessness, of foreclosed homes, of stolen pensions. Corporate power has kept wages flat for longer than most Americans can remember. The top 10% have captured all of the income gains in America since the 1990s. Communities of color have suffered the most in this new radically unequal America. African American and Latino families' median net worth is now less than the value of a decent used car. And yet in the executive suites and the Wall Street boardrooms, the good times keep on rolling. This is not what America is supposed to be—neither

our economy nor our society can prosper as the power of economic elites pushes us further and further apart.

The labor movement is how we build a different and a better future—an end to mass unemployment, to CEOs and speculators getting rich while the people who do the work, who create the wealth they take, lead lives of increasing insecurity and diminishing possibility. The labor movement is about ending workplace discrimination, about a future when there is no pay gap between men and women. We are about stopping the practice of filling American workplaces with permanent “temporary” workers, about an end to employers telling workers they are now “independent contractors” without rights because their lawyers say they can get away with it. We are about an America where paths to the middle class are open, where we all can rise. Together, we will reverse the radical inequality that has marked our time in America, put an end to the “you’re on your own” society and replace it with a country where we are all in this together.

We may work in a thousand workplaces, but we all live in communities—communities where we make our homes and raise our families. The labor movement is about building the power to create strong communities, where local public schools prepare our children for the future, where the parks are open and fun places to play, where those in need are fed and clothed and brought in from the cold—and where the people who provide these vital public services are treated as we would want to be treated. Together, we pledge to invest in our communities, to repair the damage done by years of politicians using the excuse of the economic crisis to dismantle our social and economic fabric. We pledge to offer the hand of partnership to employers and government to build a future of shared prosperity—of stellar educational institutions, 21st century infrastructure, and most of all an America where no one is kicked to the curb or left behind.

Yet none of these things will happen until we stop believing the myth that we are too poor to afford a civilized society. The reality is the opposite—some have become so rich that they rig the system so they can take what we produce and give little or nothing in return. The labor movement will not be fooled—we demand corporations and the wealthy pay their taxes, just as we honorably and proudly pay ours. We cannot have shared prosperity so long as we give publicly financed handouts to companies that lay off Americans to accelerate profits. We cannot have shared prosperity when we do our duty and pay taxes when we buy and sell our houses and cars, but speculators buy and sell trillions in financial assets every day without paying a penny in taxes.

And in return for what we ask of employers, we offer the hand of partnership. We offer to work together to make the investments that will make America more competitive, to help train the workforce employers need, and perhaps most of all, to be the customers employers require for their products and services.

A future of shared prosperity requires we think seriously about the future itself. In America, a generation of government by and for the rich has condemned millions of our young people to a future with too few jobs and too much debt. This is unacceptable. Politicians who trade in hate exclude young immigrants who know no other home from full participation in our national life. This is unacceptable. We have inherited the greatest legacy in the history of the world, in the form of our public schools and universities, our roads and bridges and ports, our water and power systems—and yet politicians beholden to the rich have let trillions of dollars in maintenance go undone, while the rest of the world invests in the technologies of the 21st century. This is unacceptable. The labor movement is building a different future—where there is work for our young people, a road map to citizenship for all who are here in America, and where together we make the investments America must make to compete and for all of us to prosper in the global economy of the 21st century.

For we do indeed live in a global economy, where our fate as workers in America is bound up with the fate of workers across the world—in Brazilian steel mills, Bangladeshi garment factories and Egyptian cotton mills, on Chinese docks, in Mexican and Canadian mines and in German machine shops. We are part of a larger global labor movement advocating for an economic agenda that addresses the challenges of a changing global economy. We will strengthen global alliances with workers and their unions across the world. We know we share the same dreams, negotiate with the same employers, have the same hopes for democracy and see the same threats to our rights. And we know that together, across the world, we will defeat the threat of austerity driven by financial interests.

And we live on the only planet we have. We reject utterly the idea that we must choose between jobs and prosperity and caring for our only planet. All across America today, people are looking for work who have the skills we need to fight global warming—construction workers who could retrofit our buildings and our power plants, auto workers who could build new fleets of high-mileage vehicles, railroad workers who could build and staff high-speed trains, factory workers of all kinds who could make the capital goods of the future. Re-engineering must mean putting in place solutions so we can keep the good jobs we have while fighting climate change—carbon capture and sequestration technology, nuclear power and better, more efficient pipelines. We must fight climate change by putting America back to work re-engineering our economy.

Throughout the world, the values of shared prosperity are locked in conflict with the agenda of financial elites and global corporations. But in the end this conflict is self-defeating. A world of radical inequality is not in anyone's long-term interest. That is why we seek a global economy where worker rights and the environment are protected, an economy where global finance is regulated and put to work to increase shared prosperity. We want global trade rules that allow countries to protect workers and the environment, that do not trade food and product safety for market access. For too long, capital has written the rules of trade and has benefited

at workers' expense. Global trade and investment agreements must benefit not just shareholders of multinational corporations but workers and citizens in all the countries that sign the agreement. And there is no way to achieve these goals until the processes of negotiating international agreements are open and transparent.

In every generation, America's workers have had to fight and win again the fundamental right to be heard in our society. In cotton mills in Massachusetts in 1840, in Pennsylvania coal mines in 1900, in Michigan's auto plants in 1936, in the streets of Memphis in 1968, and the streets of Los Angeles in 1988, and today all over this country—in Walmart's stores and warehouses, in fashion shows and taxi dispatch yards, on street corners where day laborers gather, in the kitchens of McDonald's and Burger King—this fight is on.

But more is at stake than the fate of each group of us who stands up for our rights, our dignity, our very humanity. Each time working people stand together for a better future, the future of our country and our world grows a little brighter—a future of shared prosperity, a future worthy of the great promise of America. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. gave his life in the cause of the dignity of working people, and every day when workers across America follow in his path, we honor his memory and build the America and the world he dreamed.

Because when Nissan workers from Japan and Nissan workers from Mississippi sit together, when Steelworkers and Mine Workers demand their brothers and sisters in Mexico be freed and their union respected, when German and American Deutsche Telekom workers jointly demand that all that company's workers be treated fairly—then we are a little closer not just to shared prosperity in the global economy, but to a global economy that can sustain prosperity for all. And that has been the dream, and the real life goal, that makes out of millions of very different people who work, one labor movement.

(End Resolution No. 6)

RESOLUTION NO. 9

Good Jobs, Economic Security and Tax Fairness

GERARD: I was shocked that at Pat Gallagher's age he could actually remember the whole name of our union. *(Laughter)*

Brothers and sisters, something has gone terribly wrong with our economic policymakers. It seems they've convinced themselves that good jobs, economic security for working families, decent pensions, health care aren't necessary for America to be successful anymore. But we know better.

In Resolution 9, "Good Jobs, Economic Security and Tax Fairness," we demand three things: good jobs, full employment and investments in infrastructure, public services to build pathways to the middle class, economic security and tax fairness to make these things possible.

Our vision of a sound economic policy calls for a repeal rather than replacement of—as Elizabeth Warren said—the stupid, stupid job-killing sequestration.

I'd like to now hear from someone who is living the effects of that sequestration: Patty Viers, local president of AFGE Local 1148 in Columbus, Ohio.

Patty, are you at mike 2?

By the way, hang on.

Rich said you guys have been really quiet. He figures somebody has a hangover. Everybody, we haven't asked you yet. Good morning!

DELEGATION: Good morning.

GERARD: Louder. Good morning!

DELEGATION: Good morning!

GERARD: Patty, it's all yours.

PATTY VIERS, AFGE Local 1148: Thank you very much, sir.

Brothers and sisters, I stand before you as a third-generation civil servant. My father was a federal employee, my grandfather was federal employee, I've worked for the federal government for 35 years as a customer account specialist on the Army Industrial Team, and I'm AFGE proud. *(Applause)*

This nation and this economy used to value public servants like me. After all, our job is literally to help our fellow Americans. But now we're told we can't afford quality public services, that we need to cut government jobs and public-sector pay and benefits. But don't believe it.

For years Wall Street and the wealthiest Americans have refused to pay their fair share in taxes. At their instigation, their allies in Congress have forced dumb policies like austerity and sequestration on America's workers. The sequester furloughs caused me to lose the equivalent of a full mortgage payment each month. As a single parent to one daughter and grandmother to her daughter, these cuts hurt a lot.

I've made do. I've stopped contributing to my retirement plan, I've cut my expenses, but many of my co-workers have been relying on charity and other assistance just to survive. No one knows what's in store for next year, which is why this resolution is so important. In a time of economic crisis, with high unemployment, low wages and no growth, we know what to do: create jobs, invest in infrastructure and public services, strengthen the safety net, reform the tax code to make sure those who profit most in America contribute their fair share back to this country. *(Applause)*

If dumb ideas like cutting Social Security benefits in order to pay for tax cuts to millionaires stay on the table, it's not just public servants who lose, it's all of us who will be harmed by an unsustainable, unbalanced stagnant economy. *(Applause)*

We are not a poor country. The economic elite want us to believe we are so that we'll keep our expectations low and settle for less than we deserve. But we're the labor movement and we know how to fight back. Thank you. *(Applause)*

GERARD: Thank you, Patty.

Brothers and sisters, Resolution 9, "Good Jobs, Economic Security and Tax Fairness," also calls for major jobs legislation, a higher level of public investment, and rebuilding America's manufacturing and industrial base. To make economic security real, we will continue to strongly oppose any cuts in Medicare, Social Security, Medicaid benefits, no matter what form they take and who proposes them. Instead of cutting Social Security benefits, we should be raising them across the board. Increasing them with cost-of-living adjustments and lifting the taxable earnings cap for Social Security. *(Applause)*

It's time that we understand that the rich and powerful meet their Social Security cap at five minutes after midnight, while my secretary has to pay all year long. As others have said, that should not be acceptable. We need to make sure that we fight and make Medicare a model for a single, high standard of care, and that cares for everyone.

We reject the tax on workers' pensions.

I want to pay a compliment to the Mine Workers and to their union for the stand that they made showing the kind of stupidity that happens when you attack workers' pensions after 30 years. We should all thank the Mine Workers for standing up and fighting for pensions for everyone. *(Standing ovation)*

After 20, 30, 40 or even 50 years of work, no one should be able to steal your damn pension or your health care through some phony bankruptcy model that corporations are using. We reject the attacks on workers' pensions, unemployment benefit cuts, public services—public services that are now turned over to for-profit corporations that provide less service at more cost.

Further, we demand that all workers access training and career counseling they need to achieve secure employment.

Sisters and brothers, we need to make our tax system fair for working men and women. We must demand that Wall Street and the wealthiest Americans—as Patty said—pay their fair share and insist on the elimination of tax incentives.

Let me say this personally. In the Steelworkers union we've lost dozens upon dozens upon dozens of jobs, thousands of jobs to corporations who got a tax break to move their jobs from Ohio to Beijing or to move their jobs from Baltimore to Beijing. I don't know any other society on the planet that would pay companies to move their jobs off shore. We need to make sure that that business gets taken care of, and taken care of soon. *(Applause)*

Any tax reform that's being considered must encourage manufacturing in the United States and cannot absolutely continue to tax middle-class health care benefits and must absolutely preserve tax expenditures that are important to the middle class, including the tax deduction for state and local taxes and the tax exclusion for interest on municipal bonds.

On behalf of the committee, I, with all my power, recommend the adoption of Resolution 9, Rich.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 9 be adopted. Is there discussion? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

MIKE FOX, AFSCME: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm a 41-year member of AFSCME. I'm an international vice president, and I stand in strong support of Resolution Number 9.

Each of the major provisions of this resolution must be adopted and are necessary in order to change the debate that is currently going on at the federal level, the state level and the local level. And that is a debate that seems to be centered around the importance of cutting and not investing. Investing, Mr. Chairman, is what we need to be doing.

The budget debate in Washington has gone crazy. And to use a statement of yours, we have to turn this debate right-side up. We have to turn this debate in a direction towards investing in our citizens, in our jobs and to make life better.

You have those in Washington, and also at the state level, that are willing to hold the American citizens hostage, are willing to allow others to threaten to shut down government, that would reduce and put at risk Social Security payments, Medicare payments, payments to our veterans. It would remove millions of dollars from an economy that is now sputtering.

We need to pass this resolution because we need good jobs, and we need to be looking at investment. The biggest secret in this nation—because it's talked about very little—is that under President Obama the deficits have actually come down. So spending is not our problem. Spending is not our problem. Cutting is our problem. *(Applause)*

In the public sector—it's been mentioned earlier—we have lost 750,000 jobs across this country since 2009. Had those jobs not been cut, had those jobs been filled, we'd probably be at an unemployment rate close to 6% instead of over 7%. People forget that those jobs are good, family-sustaining jobs with good benefits, with good pensions. They are people who contribute to the communities in which they live. They buy goods and services that create jobs in the private sector. They provide services that are important to the quality of life of this nation.

If we don't have more teachers in the classroom, it is harder for our students to learn. If we don't have trucks on the highways, snow builds up. If we don't have workers helping process the Medicare and Medicaid payments, our seniors do not get what they have earned and deserve.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in urgent support for the passage of this resolution. We are way upside down in this debate, and we need to turn it right-side up, we need to be debating investment, not cutting. We need to be debating the creation of jobs, not sending them overseas. We need to pass this resolution and pass it loud and clear.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Well said. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

DONNA EDWARDS, Central Maryland AFL-CIO: Thank you, Mr. Chair. Good morning, sisters and brothers. I'm the secretary-treasurer of the Maryland State and District of Columbia state federation and a lifetime member of that great Green Machine AFSCME. *(Applause)*

I strongly support the "Good Jobs, Economic Security and Tax Fairness"

Resolution 9. Each of the major provisions of the resolution is vital to a sound and just economy for all.

The budget debate, if we can call it a debate, in Washington is just insane. They should not be holding the government and the American people hostage and allowing politicians to do the bidding for the 1% to threaten the government shutdowns or threaten the full faith and credit of the United States.

I am tired of Wall Street and the 1% telling me and the rest of the working taxpayers that we can't afford public investment in good jobs and in social insurance programs to provide more economic security and shared prosperity for all.

We need good jobs, not harmful, job-killing cuts. Spending isn't the problem. The problem is that not enough Americans are working and not enough Americans are able to find work. Austerity does not work.

The public sector, as you've heard, has lost over 750,000 positions. That's not just 750,000 jobs. That's millions and millions of Americans who will go without services and assistance and help. That's what we're losing in this country.

Mr. Chair, I strongly support this resolution, and I challenge all of us to put this resolution into practice every day in our work.

We must change the capitalist mantra, "What's good for business is good for America," and make that, "What's good for workers creates better jobs, better businesses and rebuilds America." Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister Donna. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

CONNIE MABIN, USW: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm a proud third-generation Steelworker.

I rise in support of Resolution Number 9, in particular the demand to rebuild American manufacturing. I am living proof that when we make it in America, Americans make it. My granddad dropped out of school at sixth grade to go to work in the local steel mill. He could barely read or write. But because of our union, his union and his good job, he was able to support my mother and her three brothers and sisters. They were able to support us. I'm the first person in my family to go to college. I came home to be a Steelworker because those are my values. And I want my 2-year-old daughter to be able to be the fourth generation of Steelworkers.

We can only do that if we make things in America. We must have an economy based on making real things.

When we have one good manufacturing job in our community, it supports four other jobs in that community—the local restaurants, the teachers, the firefighters, the car dealerships, the lawyers, the accountants, on and on. Manufacturing is the key to strong communities. It's the key to a strong economy. And I believe it's a key to a strong future for my daughter and all of our kids and grandkids. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Delegate at mike 2.

BHAIRAVI DESAI, National Taxi Workers Alliance: Good morning, President Trumka.

We represent a workforce that doesn't have pensions, we don't have Social Security contributions, we don't even have access to unemployment insurance. And it's for that very reason that I stand in support of Resolution 9. Because, you see, when that ceiling gets held up for the entire working force, then those of us who are at the very bottom, we have a shot to shoot up. But when that ceiling crashes down, that floor comes down even further, and people like us get crushed.

We understand that the struggle of public-sector workers of today is the very struggle that we fought 30 years ago, and we lost that struggle. And because of that loss, we deeply understand the significance of the fight to hold up collective bargaining and the other rights that we are talking about in this resolution.

I'd like to speak specifically to the issue of Medicaid. It is the one public benefit that many of our members and their families can still access. When our members are injured on the job and their families are in danger of losing their health care and other benefits, Medicaid is the one that people can rely on.

And so I strongly urge that in the passage of this resolution that we also talk about the public benefits, like food stamps and Medicaid, the very public benefits that the vast majority of the poor and the working poor rely on. Because many of the other benefits, like Social Security contribution and pensions, millions of the poor do not have access to any of this.

And so I hope that in the spirit of this resolution what we are really talking about is crushing poverty. It's about looking at income inequality, not only in the form of contracts that are negotiated, but about the very social issues that keep the millions of workers who are nonunionized, or even if they are unionized, do not have access to many of these benefits. We as a movement make an uncompromised commitment to holding social programs that support the poor every day in this country.

Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2, Frankie.

FRANK SNYDER, York-Adams County (Pa.) Central Labor Council: Good morning, Mr. Chairman. I am the secretary-treasurer of the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO. Thirty-five years ago I joined the Steelworkers of America.

I rise in support of this resolution because, as my brother from Pennsylvania and AFSCME, Mike Fox, indicated, you cannot have a strong public sector without a strong private sector. Manufacturing has been and must be the engine of America. We have partnered to bring jobs back, not just to Pennsylvania but also to America, through different academics and universities throughout the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

What's most important as we leave here today and we leave here this week is that we go back and we implore our lawmakers, we implore all the different sectors within our movement—the building trades, the public sector and the private sector—because this certainly has a clear impact on every one of them.

So as we go home and we leave here in just a few days, Mr. Chairman, I hope that everybody goes back to their respective states and continues to fight for the real engine of America, solid manufacturing jobs. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Frank.

Seeing no further discussion, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 9. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye. All those opposed, no.

Resolution 9 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 9

Good Jobs, Economic Security and Tax Fairness

THE ENDLESS BUDGET BATTLES in Washington are essentially disagreements over what kind of society we want to be and what kind of economy we want to have—now and in the future.

Wall Street and the wealthiest Americans are refusing to pay their fair share in taxes, even if it means condemning the rest of America to high unemployment, bad jobs, low wages and economic insecurity. And they are demanding cuts to Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security benefits to pay for lower tax rates.

Working people have a very different vision for America's future. We are demanding: (1) good jobs, full employment, and investments in infrastructure and public services to build pathways to the middle class; (2) economic security; and (3) tax fairness to make these things possible.

Good Jobs

If we want good jobs and full employment, we must first make the right budget choices. For several years, U.S. budget policies have failed to focus on the greatest economic challenge facing America—the jobs crisis—and have instead made the crisis worse. Economic growth would be higher and millions more people would be employed if Washington had not turned to budget cutting in 2011, when the economy still had not recovered from the Great Recession.

By keeping unemployment high, budget austerity has also kept wages low. In addition, high unemployment and growing economic inequality undermine the programs that provide economic security for working people.

We cannot allow short-sighted budget austerity to prevent us from fixing the economy. The AFL-CIO therefore resolves to do the following:

- **Demand repeal—rather than replacement—of “sequestration.”** Across-the-board budget cuts will hold back economic growth for the next decade, while repealing these cuts would boost employment and growth. There is no economic need to replace these cuts with other harmful cuts.
- **Demand jobs legislation.** Congress must pass jobs legislation that invests in

infrastructure, education, manufacturing and energy, and helps state and local governments avoid layoffs of educators, first responders and other public service employees.

- **Demand higher levels of public investment.** These productive investments will not only put people to work, but also lay the foundations for long-term economic growth.
- **Demand that rebuilding U.S. manufacturing and the industrial base be made a national priority,** and that Buy American laws be strengthened and fully enforced.

Economic Security

Even before the Great Recession, working people were faced with growing economic insecurity: less job security; fewer defined-benefit pensions; the inadequacy of 401(k) plans; lower wages that leave less money to put away toward retirement; higher health care premiums; more cost-sharing for health care; fewer unemployment benefits; and the loss of vital public services. The Great Recession made all these problems worse.

The appropriate response to the increase in economic insecurity is to bolster programs that provide economic security, such as Social Security, Medicaid, Medicare, Unemployment Insurance and quality public services. Working people need more economic security, not less.

Bolstering economic security does not require us to choose between the young and the old, or between public investment and social insurance. We need higher levels of public investment to achieve good jobs, full employment and quality public services; we need stronger social insurance programs to provide more economic security; and we need all of these things for the benefit of young and old.

Wall Street and the wealthiest Americans would have us believe that these things are unaffordable, yet they constantly demand tax cuts that diminish our ability to afford them.

They would also have us believe that outsourcing public services to banks and for-profit corporations will somehow improve the quality of services or reduce costs. On the contrary, outsourcing has led to higher costs and lower quality, as well as less transparency, accountability, shared prosperity and competition.

The AFL-CIO therefore resolves to do the following:

- **Continue our absolute opposition to any cuts in Medicare, Social Security or Medicaid benefits—no matter what form they take or who proposes them.** We will oppose proposals to lower Social Security cost-of-living increases; raise the Social Security retirement age; raise the Medicare eligibility age; increase income-related Medicare premiums; shift costs to Medicare beneficiaries through higher

deductibles, co-pays and coinsurance; or reduce federal Medicaid payments to the states.

- **Demand an across-the-board increase in Social Security benefits**, which would be especially meaningful for low-income seniors.
- **Demand higher Social Security cost-of-living increases**, to reflect the higher share of seniors' incomes that goes to health care and housing.
- **Demand an increase in the taxable earnings cap for Social Security**, so income greater than \$113,700 is taxed.
- **Demand improved Medicare benefits**, so Medicare can serve as a model for a single high standard of care for everyone, sometimes called "Medicare for All."
- **Oppose attacks on workers' pensions under the guise of deficit reduction.**
- **Oppose proposals to reduce unemployment coverage, benefit weeks or amounts.**
- **Oppose outsourcing proposals that wrongly put public services in the hands of for-profit companies, weakening accountability and transparency.**
- **Demand that all workers have access to the training and career counseling they need to achieve employment security.**

Tax Fairness

Making the wealthiest Americans and Wall Street pay their fair share in taxes would generate large amounts of new revenues that could be used to make necessary investments in infrastructure, education, manufacturing and the transition to a clean energy economy.

The AFL-CIO therefore resolves to do the following:

- **Demand that the wealthiest Americans pay their fair share.** We will support (1) higher tax rates on income greater than \$1 million; (2) reducing or eliminating the tax preference for capital gains and dividends; (3) restoring a robust estate tax; (4) establishing a minimum 30% tax rate for millionaires; and (5) ending the "carried interest" tax loophole for Wall Street investment managers.
- **Oppose any reduction in tax rates for the wealthiest Americans.** We will oppose "revenue neutral tax reform" that uses up all new tax revenues on wasteful rate reductions.
- **Demand that Wall Street pay its fair share in taxes.** We will support a "Financial Transactions Tax" to discourage destabilizing high-volume trading and encourage long-term productive investment.

- **Demand the elimination of the tax benefit of sending jobs overseas.** Making corporations pay current U.S. taxes on their overseas income the same way they pay taxes on their domestic income would raise \$583 billion over 10 years.
- **Insist that “tax reform” encourages manufacturing in the United States.** Eliminating or limiting tax expenditures that encourage production in the United States would harm workers in America, even if the corporate income tax rate were lowered.
- **Oppose a “territorial tax system” that reduces U.S. taxation of overseas corporate profits,** which would increase the tax incentive to send jobs overseas.
- **Oppose “tax reform” that taxes middle-class health benefits.** Taxing health benefits would lead employers to drop coverage and shift more health care costs to workers.
- **Demand that “tax reform” preserve other tax expenditures important to the middle class,** such as the tax deduction for state and local taxes and the tax exclusion for interest on municipal bonds.
- **Demand a level playing field for e-commerce,** so online retailers cannot avoid collecting the same sales taxes that brick-and-mortar retailers are required to collect.

We are not a poor country. We are, however, a country in which economic inequality has risen to alarming levels; economic elites have grown increasingly indifferent to the well-being of their fellow citizens; multinational corporations have grown increasingly disconnected from the economic interests of the people who actually live and work in America; Wall Street and the wealthiest Americans have gained outsized political influence in our democracy; and economic policy makers have convinced themselves that good jobs and the economic security of working people no longer are necessary to our economic success. These are the things that cry out to be changed.

(End Resolution No. 9)

TRUMKA: Leo.

RESOLUTION NO. 10

Raising Wages is the Answer

GERARD: We'll now deal with Resolution 10, “Raising Wages is the Answer.”

We all know there's something fundamentally wrong with our economy. As Richard has said, it's upside down. Four years after the end of the Great Recession, unemployment remains at recession levels, and wages—well, wages have been dead in the water, stagnant or falling.

Resolution 10 spells out what is wrong with our economy and lays out an action plan for fixing it.

The reason why our economy is still broken is because Washington has been pursuing a low-wage economy strategy for the past 30 years, a strategy that has done exactly what it was designed to do—lower wages and increase profits.

Let me encourage all of you to go on the Internet and look up an article by Lewis Powell called “The Powell Manifesto.” Since 1972, when he laid out that direction for a corporate America for the Chamber of Commerce, they have not deviated from an attempt to overcome the labor movement and drive down wages. But guess what? That does not work. When you lower wages, when you minimize and shrink the middle class, families are no longer having the buying power to fuel the economy the way they once did. This is why the Great Recession happened in the first place, and it is a big reason why the economic recovery has been so slow.

Resolution 10, sisters and brothers, says that if we want to fix our economy, we have to abandon this failed strategy of low-wage economy and replace it with a high-wage strategy for shared prosperity. We tried to lay out what that means, and what does it mean? It means reversing the policies that were designed to lower wages. It means restoring workers’ ability to bargaining collectively.

It means the ability to organize a union without the boss sticking his nose in our business. As was said yesterday, you can join the National Rifle Association without having to go through that rigmarole. You can join the Democratic Party, the Republican Party. You can join anything that you want except the labor movement, where the boss sticks their nose in.

So, sisters and brothers, strengthening labor standards and employment protection for all workers will come as we build a stronger labor movement with our allies, making full employment the central objective of U.S. fiscal and monetary policy.

We need to forge a new model of engagement with the global economy so that when we make things in America again, as was said by previous speakers, we will eliminate the trade deficit.

Let me again give you some raw statistics. Some of the you may know this, some of you may not. Since the signing of PNTR with China a little over 10 years ago, our accumulated trade deficit with China is in the neighborhood of \$7 trillion. You want to talk about deficits? Talk about that one. So far this year, just China, we’re heading towards an almost \$400 billion trade deficit with China on manufactured goods. So that has to be one of the challenges, because I don’t expect steelworkers in any sector of the economy, nor should you, expect anybody you represent to have to compete with China.

We have to tackle our bloated financial sector. Once again, we have to make that financial sector serve Main Street and not the crony capitalists of Wall Street.

Resolution 10 also lays out a concrete action plan to reverse that wage stagnation, with special emphasis on increasing workers’ bargaining power and strengthening labor standards for every worker in America.

A campaign to raise wages and labor standards for working people must include efforts at the federal, state and local levels—efforts such as restoring, again, workers’ freedom to form a union, bringing immigrant workers out of the shadows and

providing meaningful labor protection for them, raising and indexing the minimum wage for all workers, including those workers who work for tips, who sometimes go home with hardly nothing.

We need to look at the misclassification of employees as so-called independent contractors, protecting and expanding overtime protections, ending wage theft that we hear so often, and ensuring equal pay.

Finally, we must fight for equal pay for women, negotiating in community benefit agreements. *(Applause)*

It can't be acceptable. It can't be acceptable in 2013 or any year, past, present or future, that women doing the same job get paid less. It can't be acceptable that immigrants have to hide in the community in the shadows and get exploited by their bosses, and then threatened with discharge if they try to form a union.

We need to support local labor standards. We need to work for helping all of our sisters and brothers in every sector of the economy.

So sisters and brothers, the labor movement, working with our community partners, we must provide the force to turn around the terrible wage stagnation that has inflicted us for the last 30-plus years.

So on behalf of the committee, I enthusiastically move adoption of Resolution 10. Brother Chairman.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 10 be adopted. Is there discussion? There is. Start with mike 2. Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

ASTRID ZUNIGA, Central Labor Council of Stanislaus and Toulumne Counties

(Calif.): Good morning my brothers and sisters. I'm a home care provider. I'm with the Stanislaus and Toulumne Counties Central Labor Council. I am also a proud member of the United Domestic Workers of America, AFSCME 3930.

I rise in support of Resolution Number 10. There's a bullet point, the 12th one down, that endorses fair pay for home care providers.

Home care providers are the lifeline to our communities' most vulnerable—the elderly, the blind and the disabled. The work is physically demanding, intensely personal in nature, as the work is often in assisting in toileting, dressing, bathing, feeding our consumers, constant supervision.

While it is undisputed that this work is invaluable, and the individuals of our nation need home care providers, the wages for this work have been suppressed for far too long—*(Applause)*—due to how the Department of Labor has put us on the same footing as babysitters. The wages that home care providers receive keep them and their families nearly at poverty levels. More than half rely on public assistance, like Medicaid and food stamps.

I know a majority of my members, and there are 65,000 in the state of California alone, rely on food banks, rental assistance, utility assistance and the absence of federal and wage and the hourly protection for home care providers puts those that depend on them at risk.

It is long overdue. Home care providers deserve basic federal and wage protections.

While we appreciate and are proud of President Obama's efforts by saying it's time to be fair, but it's time for us to put pressure on them to make this more than lip service.

We deserve rules, regulations and legislation that gives home care providers a living wage. Thank you. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

CLAYOLA BROWN, A. Philip Randolph Institute: Good morning, Mr. Chairman. I'm president of the oldest constituent group inside of the AFL-CIO, the A. Philip Randolph Institute. (*Applause*)

I rise this morning to speak for this resolution for a number of reasons. They say when you start your sentence with "I can remember," that's an admission that you are old. That's OK with me. Because what I want to say this morning is I want us to remember something.

In 1941, the president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, Asa Philip Randolph, was raising his voice in support and pressuring the standing government on this very issue that this resolution speaks to.

In doing so, he brought his message to the president of the United States and insisted that there not be disparity in wages that went to those in munitions. To make that happen, he asked for an executive order, and that did happen, whereby the wages of workers who were disproportionately impacted by low wages were lifted immediately.

We are fighting the same fight today that we were fighting then. We continue to talk about the disparity in wages across the country. We know what it takes to have a sustainable wage. We know what it takes to raise our families, and most of us have gotten into this bad habit of liking to eat, and we can't do that on some of the wages that we are earning today. (*Applause*)

We deserve a living wage. We deserve a sustainable job. We deserve to be paid a fair and equitable wage for the work that we are doing.

So then the word was from that president, "Make me do it." The same kind of mannerism is coming from this president, and I love him dearly, but if we don't give him a pass on this, and make him do it, we will be able to lift ourselves to where we need to be, and with the stroke of a pen, bring 2 million people out of poverty instantly, who are working poor, not anybody looking for a handout. (*Applause*)

So I say to us today, we can love this president, but we must make him accountable and ask for those things that we are entitled to.

On that note, Mr. Chairman, I say let's make this happen for the workers of America.

Thank you very much. (*Standing ovation*)

TRUMKA: Chair recognizes delegate at mike 1.

GARY KELLY, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers: Good morning, Mr. Chairman, and brothers and sisters. I am business manager of IBEW Local 22 in Omaha, Nebraska, and a proud member of the IBEW delegation. (*Applause*)

I rise in strong support of Resolution 10. The resolution is comprehensive and looks at the big picture of what has happened to wages in America and how we can get back on a path of growth.

Whenever we talk about collective bargaining or a social program to benefit everyone in the community, the right wing screams about redistribution of wealth. What they don't say is the real wealth in this country has been redistributed from the poor and the middle class to those at the top. That's a real effect of keeping wages down.

My local is a construction local. We and the other trades work hard to keep up standards in our industry. The resolution speaks clearly on the need to safeguard the federal and state prevailing wage loss, to make sure that government projects live up to community standards as well as project labor agreements that foster quality and stability on construction jobs.

We have been able to communicate our messages that these laws and agreements help build strong communities by making sure that jobs go to local residents, thus building the tax base and supporting local business. We've also reached into the community to recruit young men and women into our apprenticeship programs and to show nonunion workers, and sometimes their employers, too, that working union is the way to go.

In construction the difference between union and nonunion is stark and is something we deal with every day. As my colleague said yesterday, the best long-term way to get justice for all is to bring all workers from our industry in our unions. That's how we're doing our part to raise wages.

I urge everyone to support Resolution 10. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

JEFF JOHNSON, Washington State Labor Council: Mr. Chairman, sisters and brothers, I'm president of the Washington State Labor Council, AFL-CIO, and a proud member of AFSCME Local 443. *(Applause)*

So I rise in strong support of Resolution 10. These are the high-wage policies and quality labor standards that will help us towards the path of shared prosperity. But my question is this. Is there any objection to the friendly amendment to insert a new bullet at the end of the section on federal legislation that reads as follows: "**Fair Wages for Workers with Disabilities.** We will support legislation ('Fair Wages for Workers with Disabilities Act') to stop allowing employers to pay disabled workers a sub-minimum wage." *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: The chair determines that the proposed amendment is friendly. Is there any objection to the amendment?

Hearing none, the amendment is adopted into the resolution.

JOHNSON: Thank you, Mr. Chair. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Jeff. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

MARIA SOMMA, USW: Thank you, President Trumka. I'm standing up here to ask this body to support this resolution. There are many, many, many important parts and all are vital, but I am here to highlight the part-time worker component part in paragraph 3, "The abandonment of full employment as a central objective of U.S. economic policy."

I mentioned briefly yesterday the organizing campaign with the adjunct faculty at Duquesne University. Well, over the past 30 years, tuition in this country has increased 1,120% over 30 years. We talk about the skyrocketing cost of health care, but over that same time period the cost of health care only rose 600%. So tuition has doubled that.

At the same time, these institutions where tuition has skyrocketed, they have increased their use of part-time faculty.

Now adjuncts make up over 70% of the workforce and they get paid by piecework. Our members have not gotten a raise in over six years before they started to organize. The university somehow in the midst of this drive found money to give them raises over the past two years—in fact, they've gotten two raises.

They make about \$2,500 a class per semester. This small pay includes all of the hours they spend preparing for the classes, teaching the classes, grading and student counseling. All of that for \$2,500 for three months' worth of work. At this school they were limited to two classes per semester, so they have to work in two or three different places in order to make ends meet.

They are teaching the future generation of this country; in fact, they are inspiring the future generation of this country, and they can't even afford to feed their families. If they are running off from job to job, how long will they be able to continue to do good work?

If tuition has increased over 1,000% and yet the universities have decreased the hiring of full-time employees, our question is, where has all the money gone? Some of our members are on food stamps, some of our members are working at three or four schools to make ends meet.

Duquesne University is a Catholic institution. I stand here as a lifelong Catholic, and my question is, "Would Jesus do this?" I don't think so.

So I stand up and ask this house to strongly support this resolution on behalf of all the part-time workers who want full-time employment. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

VICE PRESIDENT LARRY COHEN, Communications Workers of America: Two things. So raising wages. How many people here remember the last time they got an actual increase that was more than inflation?

Well, yesterday we did a workshop with the Brazilian labor leaders. They've doubled pay after inflation over the last 10 years. This is not just about fighting poverty, as important as that is. We've got to think deep about why that can happen in Brazil and other places, and why that seems out of reach here, and what we do.

Obviously, the key is that in Brazil, 60%—60%—of workers in the formal sector have collective bargaining coverage, and we know the numbers here. So yesterday

when we talked about organizing and reaching out to partners in new ways, it directly links into, "How do we turn this economy around, raise wages?" It's about our bargaining rights, public or private.

But then second, I want to give a shout-out to the labor councils and the state federations, because every one of these almost desperate bargaining fights that we have, those labor councils and state federations stand up for every one of us. And we need to recognize what they are up against and stand up for them. (*Applause*)

When we played that video yesterday on Cablevision, that I love so much, I should've said that without the New York City Central Labor Council and without the New York state federation of labor, those 300 workers at Cablevision would have no chance. But with that federation and with that labor council, they have every chance, and they will stand up and fight back until they have those papers from Dolan.

Thank you. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Larry. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2. Brother Bill.

VICE PRESIDENT BILL LUCY, AFSCME: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My name is Bill Lucy, a 44-year member of the American Federation of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and a proud three-year member of the American Postal Workers Union, and a 60-year member of this American labor movement. (*Applause*)

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for allowing me to say a word or two on behalf of some 2 million or more underpaid, exploited workers, trapped in an inefficient and unrewarding system of exploitation. Millions of workers, while earning a full salary, still qualify for numerous programs considered and operating as public aid and public assistance programs. Workers who work full time ought not need to have public assistance to survive. (*Applause*)

Mr. Chairman, the federal government is our largest low-wage employer. Through their contracting processes, they create poverty every single day. Enormous profitable industry has been built on the backs of low-wage workers and American taxpayers.

Let's take a look at the makeup of this workforce of poverty. Fifty-eight percent are women, many of them single parents and heads of households. Forty-six percent are Latinos, 40% are African Americans, 9% are white, male and female. Two percent, Asian. Seventy-four percent, Mr. Chairman, work at or near minimum wages. Fifty-eight percent receive no job benefits. And 56% on a monthly basis cannot meet their monthly obligations, not because they don't want to, they simply don't earn enough to do it on a monthly basis.

Mr. Chairman, Washington, D.C., is ground zero for income inequality, where the lowest 20% of households earned less than \$9,500 a year in 2012. Yet, the federal contractors earn \$400 billion delivering services for the American government and employees receiving nearly minimum wages.

While some studies continue to show the increasing cost of the federal government through the contracting process, the White House has, as Sister Clayola

Brown has pointed out, has the capacity to make this system fair. Simply issue an executive order demanding that federal contractors pay those who are employed by them a living wage. *(Applause)*

I, too, am a partner of the president, but our partnership ends when he refuses to abide by laws of decency. *(Applause)*

Workers who work at the Smithsonian, Union Station, the American Indian Museum, the Museum of Natural History, these workers ought to receive a living wage. *(Applause)*

There is precedent for this. President Johnson in 1965—

TRUMKA: Brother Bill, your time's expired. I'm going to have to ask you to wrap up.

LUCY: I have expired. *(Laughter)*

PRESIDENT TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. *(Standing ovation)* The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

BILL CAMP, Sacramento (Calif.) Central Labor Council: Mr. President, brothers and sisters, I'm the executive secretary of the Sacramento Central Labor Council and a proud member of OPEIU Local Number 29. *(Applause)*

I rise in support of this resolution, but I want to make a special point. If you look at Bullet Number 4, it takes the position that we support legislation to increase the minimum wage to \$10.10. I understand this is a bill that's in the Senate that we want to support, but \$10.10 is not a minimum wage.

There's no way that we will raise the American economy by raising the minimum wage to \$10.10. We know that every time we've ever created a social safety net, we did it through state legislation and state initiatives, on unemployment insurance, on workers' comp, on all the fundamental rules.

So I call on our central labor councils and our state federations to move forward with an increase in the minimum wage far above \$10.10. Not only do we put the pressure on the federal government, but we give our union members and the working class something to really fight for.

It's good that the national AFL-CIO pushes Congress, but our job is to push the people of the United States of America to get out of our comfort zone and to make 11, 12, 13, 14—that's the minimum wage. We have to index it, but we've got to start much higher.

We know we can do this. When you poll the people who go to vote in November of 2014 across this nation, they want an increase in the minimum wage.

I would like to remind our delegates, this is not about our job at the state and local level; this is about the national law. But our job is to push much higher. I believe the way we pass immigration reform is to give working-class people a reason to go vote. An increase in the minimum wage done through an initiative will give working-class people in these Republican districts who won't vote for a path to citizenship a reason to show up and send them packing.

So I rise in support of the resolution, but I want us to make sure our job is to reach much higher if we want to create an economy that works for everyone.

Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Well said, Brother.

The question is on adoption of Resolution 10. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no.

Resolution 10 is adopted. *(Applause)*

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 10

Raising Wages is the Answer

THERE IS SOMETHING FUNDAMENTALLY WRONG with the U.S. economy. More than four years after the end of the Great Recession, economic growth is still weak and unemployment is still higher than its peak in the previous recession. The heart of the problem is the stagnation of wages and the lack of middle-class buying power. The solution is to replace the failed low-wage economic strategy of the past 30 years with a high-wage strategy for shared prosperity.

The low-wage economic strategy of the past 30 years consisted of at least five elements: (1) a sustained war against workers' freedom to bargain collectively; (2) a sustained attack on labor standards and employment protections for all workers; (3) the abandonment of full employment as a central objective of U.S. economic policy and declining investment in infrastructure; (4) the relocation of U.S. manufacturing production to other countries, accompanied by chronic U.S. trade deficits; and (5) Wall Street's takeover of the real economy.

The upshot of this low-wage economic strategy was that wage growth for most workers became delinked from productivity growth in the late 1970s. The real median income of working-age families fell from 2000 to 2007 and has continued falling since the Great Recession. The wage crisis has had an especially harmful impact on people of color and their communities.

The failure of this low-wage strategy was responsible for the weakness of the U.S. economy before the Great Recession, which was temporarily papered over by a bubble in real estate prices. Today the U.S. economy is still struggling to recover from the collapse of the real estate bubble.

The failure of this low-wage strategy shows that we no longer can rely on household borrowing, real estate bubbles, tech bubbles or stock bubbles to fuel economic growth. We must rely instead on higher wages to restore middle-class buying power and create healthy domestic markets for U.S. businesses. Higher wages are not a luxury that can be postponed until the crisis has receded; they are the only way out of the crisis and the basis for sustainable growth.

A high-wage strategy for shared prosperity must include: (1) restoring workers' ability to bargain collectively; (2) strengthening labor standards and employment protections for all workers; (3) making full employment the central objective of U.S. fiscal and monetary policy; (4) forging a new model of engagement with the global economy so that we make things in America again and eliminate the U.S. trade deficit; and (5) shrinking our bloated financial sector and making it serve the real economy.

The AFL-CIO resolves to construct and implement a Raising Wages Campaign, including the following efforts at the federal, state and local levels to raise wages and labor standards for every worker in America and make every job a good job.

FEDERAL LEGISLATION

- **Freedom to Form a Union.** We will support legislation to restore workers' ability to form or join a union (Committee 1).
- **Comprehensive Immigration Reform.** To support labor standards for everyone who works in America, we will support legislation to provide a path to citizenship and meaningful labor protections (Committee 3).
- **Immigrant Workers.** We will work to improve wages and standards in all foreign temporary worker programs, including the H-1B, H-2A and H-2B visa programs.
- **Raise and Index the Minimum Wage.** We support legislation to increase the minimum wage to \$10.10 and to ensure it rises annually, and to increase the minimum wage for tipped workers to 70% of the regular minimum wage.
- **Employee Misclassification.** We will support legislation ("Fair Playing Field Act") to combat the misclassification of employees as independent contractors, which undermines labor standards.
- **Equal Pay for Equal Work.** We will support legislation ("Paycheck Fairness Act") to protect workers against gender discrimination.
- **Protect Overtime for Private-Sector Workers.** We will oppose legislation ("Comp Time") that excuses some employers from the obligation to pay a cash premium for overtime work.
- **Protect Overtime for Computer Professionals.** We will oppose legislation ("Computer Professionals Update Act") that strips overtime protection from computer programmers, software engineers and other tech employees.
- **Compensation for Federal Employees.** We will oppose pay cuts and benefit cuts for federal employees, which undermine labor standards, and support a living wage for federal employees.

- **Paid Sick Days.** We will support legislation (“Healthy Families Act”) to allow workers to earn up to seven paid sick days per year.
- **Family and Medical Leave.** We will support legislation to apply the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) to smaller businesses and to provide for paid leave through general revenues.
- **Fair Wages for Workers with Disabilities.** We will support legislation (“Fair Wages for Workers with Disabilities Act”) to stop allowing employers to pay disabled workers a sub-minimum wage.

FEDERAL REGULATION AND ENFORCEMENT

- **Minimum Wage and Overtime for Home Care Workers.** We will work for a regulation to clarify that wage and hour protections apply to home care workers.
- **Living Wage for Federal Contract Workers.** We will urge the administration to issue an executive order requiring federal contractors and subcontractors to pay a living wage.
- **Index Overtime Eligibility to Inflation.** We will work for a regulation to update and index the \$455/week salary threshold for overtime exceptions.
- **Prevailing Wage.** To keep the government from undermining labor standards, we will work to improve the process for determining prevailing wages under the Davis-Bacon and Service Contract Acts.
- **Project Labor Agreements.** We will work to promote and consistently apply project labor agreements (PLAs) to support labor standards on publicly funded construction projects.
- **Transit Workers.** We will work to maintain Section 13(c) protections for public transportation workers, which ensure collective bargaining rights and protect wages, pensions and other conditions of employment.
- **Railroad Workers.** We will work to preserve and enforce existing labor protections for freight and passenger railroad workers, which uphold collective bargaining, wages, benefits and other worker rights.
- **Wage Theft.** We will work toward a federal regulation to require employers to provide employees with information about hours worked and wages earned.

STATE AND LOCAL LEGISLATION AND ACTIVITY

- **Non-Pre-emption of Local Labor Standards.** We will oppose state legislation that

prevents counties and municipalities from setting labor standards higher than state standards.

- **“Right to Work.”** We will oppose “right to work” legislation, which lowers labor standards for all workers.
- **Minimum Wage.** We will support legislation to increase and index the minimum wage, and increase the minimum for tipped employees.
- **Prevailing Wage.** We will support legislation to keep publicly funded projects from undermining labor standards.
- **Employee Misclassification.** We will support legislation to combat the misclassification of employees as independent contractors.
- **Union Organizing Campaigns.** We will support efforts of workers to bargain collectively.
- **Wage Theft.** We will support legislation and ordinances to keep employers from underpaying or failing to pay their employees.
- **Outsourcing.** We will oppose outsourcing proposals that wrongly put public services in the hands of for-profit companies, weakening accountability and transparency.
- **Compensation for Public Service Employees.** We will oppose pay cuts and benefit cuts for public service employees, which undermine labor standards.
- **Farmworkers.** We will support legislation to guarantee overtime, collective bargaining rights and other employment protections to farmworkers.
- **Domestic Workers.** We will support legislation to guarantee minimum wage, overtime and other labor protections for domestic workers.
- **Accountable Development.** We will support legislation to require public contractors and recipients of state and local subsidies to create good jobs in the United States that meet wage and benefit standards.
- **Community Benefits Agreements.** We will work with unions in various sectors, municipalities and community partners to negotiate agreements with developers and contractors to support labor standards, provide benefits to the community and utilize union apprenticeship programs.
- **Collective Bargaining Rights.** We will support legislation to extend bargaining rights to workers who do not have them and oppose legislation that impairs existing rights.

- **Fair Share Revenue.** We will support legislation to raise tax revenue from the wealthy to avoid loss of vital public services.
- **Unemployment Insurance.** We will support state legislation to address the financial crisis of the UI system and oppose proposals to reduce benefit weeks or amounts.
- **Living Wage.** We will support ordinances to establish living wage standards.
- **Paid Sick Days.** We will support earned sick day ordinances and legislation.
(*End Resolution No. 10*)

TRUMKA: Now, the unfairness of the bankruptcy system to working people can be summed up in one comparison. Students who rack up tens of thousands of dollars in student debt but can't find a job are not able to discharge their debt through the bankruptcy process, but companies that owe the students' parents and grandparents pension obligations can.

Now, we could show how obscenely unfair the system is with one look at what's happening to tens of thousands of retired miners who toiled and risked their lives and their health for Peabody and Arch Coal. We can see what happens when the government follows the corporate low road to shedding pension obligation in the faces of Detroit government employees and retirees.

To report on our next resolution, I'd like to call on Committee Co-Chair Roberta Reardon. Roberta. (*Applause*)

RESOLUTION NO. 14

One Law for Workers, Another for Bankers—Bankruptcy Abuses and the Unfinished Business of Financial Reform

VICE PRESIDENT ROBERTA REARDON, SAG-AFTRA: Good morning. Our next resolution is Resolution 14, "One Law for Workers, Another for Bankers—Bankruptcy Abuses and the Unfinished Business of Financial Reform."

Brothers and sisters, in every industry we've seen mismanaged corporations that would rather jeopardize the retirement security of their workers than withhold fat bonuses from their executives. Corporate bankruptcy, it seems, is becoming a profitable game. Wall Street corporate executives and bankruptcy attorneys are abusing the current bankruptcy laws and looting the futures of the loyal workers who make our economy strong.

This resolution's goal is to ensure that no worker or retiree ever—ever again—has to face what people like Patriot coal miners and Detroit city employees and retirees are facing.

Now, I'd like to invite up United Mine Worker retiree Shirley Inman from West Virginia, a tireless advocate for her fellow mine workers, who's traveled to Kentucky, Missouri, D.C., and even Wyoming to protest Patriot Coal's attempt to rob workers of their retirement benefits.

Shirley, who is 70, has been arrested twice during this struggle and plans to

get arrested as many times as it takes to get justice from Patriot Coal. She is at microphone Number 2. *(Applause)*

SHIRLEY INMAN, United Mine Workers: Thank you, brothers and sisters. I stand before you today as a potential victim of our nation's bankruptcy laws.

Bear with me, I get emotional.

After almost 19 years as a proud United Mine Worker, I was forced to retire from Arch Coal due to a spinal injury I received at work. I would have liked to keep on working, but at least I could count on the pension and health care benefits my union secured for me.

But now those benefits are at risk. Patriot Coal, which was spun off from Peabody Energy and bought some mines that used to be owned by Arch, is using the bankruptcy laws to go back on contractual promises made to thousands of current and retired miners like me.

Because my union fought back, me and my brothers and sisters who were affected by this bankruptcy still have the pensions and health care we earned. We don't know for how long.

I can tell you firsthand, I need those benefits. I am a cancer survivor, I have coronary artery disease with three stents, arthritis, and I may soon need surgeries on my knee and shoulder. I don't know what I'll do if Peabody and Arch steal retirement security from me. The way bankruptcy laws are written, workers get nothing. But we are the ones who do the work to make our companies profitable—not the banks, not Wall Street—us.

We need laws that reflect the true importance of workers to the success of the company. If an employer makes a promise to us, it should be required to live up to that promise, just as it is required to live up to a promise to pay back loans from a bank. When Big Banks come before real people, something is wrong.

Our government must stop breaking the system in favor of the already powerful. We have to force our government to stand with us.

Thanks to all the brothers and sisters for standing with us in this struggle. I especially want to thank President Cecil Roberts for his leadership in saving our health care.

I also want to thank the other labor leaders who have joined our fight in St. Louis, Kentucky and West Virginia.

As you vote on this resolution, I hope you think about me and all the other workers in America who put in a hard day's work every day and simply expect to receive what we bargained for. Thank you. *(Standing ovation)*

REARDON: Shirley, thank you for bringing the Patriot story to life. We really appreciate your openness and your activism.

The labor movement demands reform of our nation's bankruptcy laws, one law for both workers and CEOs, bankers and retirees, homeowners and hedge funds, corporations and creditors and communities. We absolutely have to ensure that companies and CEOs do no better than ordinary workers in bankruptcy proceedings, and that employers cannot use bankruptcy to abolish collective bargaining agreements at will.

Sisters and brothers, we need to make banking boring again. We must end our country's 30-year experiment with financial deregulation—and enacting a new Glass-Steagal Act to return banking to its proper role in our economy is a great place to start. *(Applause)*

We call for ending “too big to fail” once and for all by ending concentration of banking power and ensuring that when a too-big-to-fail financial institution does fail, it may be unwound without triggering a systematic financial crisis.

We need passage of new legislation that implements a financial transaction tax to make Wall Street pay its fair share.

With these reforms, we can prevent Wall Street from ever again threatening Main Street with financial Armageddon, and we can put workers on an even footing with corporations and CEOs once again.

On behalf of the committee, I move the adoption of Resolution 14.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends Resolution 14 be adopted. Is there discussion? The chair recognizes delegate at mike 3.

GREGORY WYNN, CWA: Thank you, Chairman. Welcome, delegates, retirees and guests.

I rise in support of this resolution. We cannot allow them to destroy and take what we've earned and worked for over the years. Detroit is not a city that just went into bankruptcy over a matter of 10, 20 years. This is a systematic challenge, a systematic plan that Governor Snyder has put in place and he picked up for years. If we allow this to go on, it will come to a city near you, it will come to your state.

Don't forget the hard work that Detroiters have done to put this country on the map.

I again rise in support of this resolution. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

LARRY ROEHRIG, Greater Flint (Mich.) AFL-CIO Council: Thank you, Brother Trumka, I'm a delegate from the Greater Flint AFL-CIO, secretary-treasurer of Michigan AFSCME Council 25, international vice president of that great union, and a proud dues-paying member of the City of Flint Employees Local 1600 in the devastation zone called Flint, Michigan.

I rise in support of this resolution. But first of all, I must do one thing that I do every time that I get a chance to talk and say praise God from whom all blessings come. Amen. *(Applause)*

I said Amen.

DELEGATION: “Amen.”

ROEHRIG: Thank you.

I was reminded this morning by the Reverend Bishop Saunders that I couldn't use certain language to spice up my comments about this topic today. Even though it's not close to Sunday, he reminded me to clean it up. *(Laughter)*

And I've done that. I can't make any inappropriate anatomical references to the human orifice which best describes Michigan Governor Rick Snyder. No, I'm not going to do that. *(Applause)*

But what I will do is urge you, beg you, implore you, plead with you, protect the American labor movement, protect it from the most insidious device that we've seen in decades, and I'm referring to bankruptcy.

In Michigan, the anatomically unmentioned governor has manipulated a new emergency manager law which allows them to destroy collective bargaining, ignore contracts, raise taxes, charge fees, sell off assets, charge people for services they don't receive and then sell the equipment to their buddies for pennies on the dollar. And, oh, by the way, then come to our retirees and say, guess what, we're taking it all from you, too, because you really didn't work that hard anyway. I say that is wrong and you better have this in mind, hope must spring eternal.

Demand that Dodd-Frank be enforced. Make Wall Street pay its fair share through a transaction tax. Demand relief for excessive loans on our students. And reform corporate municipal bankruptcy. Don't help the carpetbaggers, send them packing without our resources and without our retirement.

Please support Resolution 14. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

MABIN: Hi. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm a Steelworker and a proud member of our next generation Young Members program.

I rise in support of this resolution because of the debt, the crippling, paralyzing debt that's facing our young workers and the unfair different set of laws for them versus corporations.

But, more importantly, I rise to make a promise to Sister Shirley and all our sisters and brothers at the Mine Workers, all of the Steelworkers, like my granddad and my dad, I rise to promise to you that as the next generation, we will fight to make sure that you get what you deserve. *(Applause)* Thank you.

We know that we have much of what we have because of those who came before us. And I just want you all to know that we support this resolution and, more importantly, we'll be with you to make sure that our promises are kept. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister Connie. Delegate at mike 2.

VICE PRESIDENT DAVID B. DURKEE, BCTGM: Good morning, I'm the president of the Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union. I'm a proud member of this union for 40 years. I'm a fourth-generation baker, and I'm proud to stand in front of you today. This is my sixth AFL-CIO convention.

With me is Joyce Alston, the president of Local 53, New York City, and a General Executive Board member. And Felipe Lopez, who runs our large local in Los Angeles, Local 37.

We rise in support of Resolution 14 and we wish to tell our story regarding federal bankruptcy. One of our largest employers was Hostess Bakeries, a company with 35,000 workers; 10,000 of those were our members.

Prior to 2004, they had 55 bakeries and it was a very healthy, multibillion-dollar corporation. In 2004, they filed bankruptcy. And what happened was, our union, the Machinists union, the UFCW, the RWDSU and the Operating Engineers went into negotiations and came up with a package to save the company \$110 million. In 2009, Hostess emerged from bankruptcy, but they merged with new owners—a private equity company and two Wall Street hedge firms.

When they came out of bankruptcy, they came out with hundreds of millions of dollars of more debt than they went into bankruptcy with. Remember the \$110 million that we saved the company? Not one penny was reinvested in the company. Wall Street took every penny.

In 2012, they filed bankruptcy again, but this time they did it different. They also filed something called an 1113. They asked the judge to give them the right to abrogate all the union contracts. When they do that, they create leverage to try to squeeze the workers.

This is what they wanted from the workers on the second go-around. No more pension, and we will leave your Taft-Hartley pension fund with \$980 million withdrawal liability. Concessions from all workers ranging from 24 to 32%. Eliminate all retiree health care. Eliminate all retiree health care savings, and no more eight-hour day. They were asking us to have jobs and receive food stamps.

During the negotiations, the CEO took a 300% raise for himself and his top 10 lieutenants took raises of 35 to 80%, including the chief operating officer.

We had six CEOs in eight years. Now, I was at the Maritime convention with Mike Sacco a few days ago and he introduced us to the CEO of Crowley Maritime. Crowley Maritime has had three CEOs in 121 years. That's the way you run a company. *(Applause)*

In November of 2012, the hedge funds took over negotiations, which is illegal—

TRUMKA: Brother Dave, the chair does not wish to be an anatomical orifice on the scale of the Michigan governor, but he must warn you that your time has expired and ask you to please wrap up.

DURKEE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. November 2012, the hedge funds took over negotiations and they said, "Listen, we're not negotiating with you anymore. You vote to take these exceptions or we'll liquidate." What we did, we voted that. Six thousand members all over the country voted and they could vote to take the concessions or they could vote to liquidate the company. That's what the ballot said. Ninety-two percent said liquidate. These people were willing to strike and give up their jobs than put up with the Wall Street bullshit. *(Applause)*

Now, I just want to remind everybody we fought at Wall Street—we have a multibillion-dollar pension fund—and we didn't prevail on that fight. And we fought in the federal bankruptcy courts. We spent \$3 million in legal fees and we didn't prevail. And no one in this room is going to prevail in the federal bankruptcy courts unless something changes.

So we took Wall Street for a walk down Main Street, and we struck them and in 28—

TRUMKA: Brother Dave, the chair will have to be an anatomical orifice on the scale of the governor, you must please close out, your time is expired.

DURKEE: Thank you, Mr. Chair. We stand with the workers, the Mine Workers and Peabody—I refuse to call it Patriot Coal, that's not what it is. We stand with the workers from Detroit. It's the same law firm. And we support the resolution.

President Trumka, we want to thank you for your support, Secretary-Treasurer Shuler, Arlene Holt Baker, for your support in the Hostess strike. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Now, there's a lot of people in the hall that don't remember old 45 records and 33 and 78. And I really appreciated, Brother Dave, the way you went from 45 to 78 those last couple of minutes. *(Laughter)* The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

VICE PRESIDENT FRED REDMOND, USW: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Believe me, I will be brief. I'm vice president of the United Steelworkers union.

As everybody in this hall, we all applaud the United Mine Workers for their victory at Patriot Coal and for the fight that they put up to protect the integrity and the dignity of their retirees.

My union has gone through so many bankruptcies. We went through bankruptcies going back 20 years ago through the steel industry and in every industry that we represent. We see this common phenomenon surfacing in companies throughout this country.

The mere premise of the bankruptcy laws in this country, to walk into bankruptcy court and our members who made these companies profitable over the years being classified as unsecured creditors, is an insult to every worker that put in their sweat to make these companies profitable. The premise is wrong.

Then we see more and more employers using the bankruptcy courts in order to walk away from their commitment to the people who made them profitable, our retirees.

So brothers and sisters, we need to really, really take this resolution serious. We need to do everything that we can to see to it that the bankruptcy courts work for our members, offer fairness to our retirees. And we have to fight to make sure the corporations do not use the bankruptcy systems in this country to walk away from our retirees.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Fred.

The question is on adoption of Resolution 14. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no.
Resolution 14 is adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 14

One Law for Workers, Another for Bankers—Bankruptcy Abuses and the Unfinished Business of Financial Reform

OUR NATION'S BANKRUPTCY LAWS are rigged against working people. We confront one side of this reality when employers file for bankruptcy as a strategy to tear up collective bargaining agreements. Too often this means for retirees, as well as workers, lost health care and lost pensions.

We see the other face of bankruptcy when young workers who face high unemployment rates after graduation struggle to pay down student debt, and learn that unlike the pension obligation owed to their parents and grandparents, their student loan debt cannot be discharged by filing for personal bankruptcy.

Meanwhile, the bankruptcy system protects the interests of Wall Street investors, corporate executives and their attorneys. Bankruptcy law shields financial engineering deals by leveraged buyout funds that leave companies more vulnerable to bankruptcy. In bankruptcy, corporate executives move quickly to replace their own compensation arrangements with new, lucrative incentives that insulate them from economic dislocation. And corporate bankruptcy attorneys often charge more than \$1,000 an hour, racking up millions in fees that receive preferential payment over other creditors.

The labor movement has long stood for the principle that the financial decline of a corporation should not mean that workers' retirement security should be put in jeopardy. After auto workers at the Studebaker-Packard Corp. lost their pensions in 1963, the labor movement fought for the Employee Retirement Income Security Act to require protections for vested pension benefits. After workers at Enron lost all of their retirement savings in 2001, the labor movement fought for the Sarbanes-Oxley Act's restrictions on company stock in 401(k) plans. But today, bankruptcy law is being abused by corporations to "reorganize" by terminating pensions and retiree health benefits like United Airlines did in 2005. Workers across entire industries such as steel, mining and the airlines have seen their retirement erased in corporate bankruptcy.

Recent bankruptcy cases show the fundamental unfairness of our nation's bankruptcy laws. The giant coal companies—Peabody and Arch Coal—created Patriot Coal to shed their obligations to tens of thousands of retired miners and their families. Then Patriot filed for bankruptcy and sought to stop paying these benefits altogether. The miners whose health care had been stolen from them had worked for decades for Peabody and Arch Coal to earn their benefits at significant risk of workplace accidents and occupational diseases like black lung. Most of these workers never worked a day for Patriot Coal, a company created by Peabody Energy to spin

off its unionized operations and avoid \$1 billion in such “legacy” liabilities. And after this maneuver, Peabody and Arch have gone on as profitable businesses.

And then there is the heartbreaking bankruptcy story of Hostess. On two separate occasions in the 2000s, Hostess workers, represented by the Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union, made tremendous sacrifices to help the company emerge from bankruptcy. Yet, management did not reinvest those wage and benefit concessions back into the company. In fact, Hostess came out of bankruptcy with more than \$1 billion in debt, more than it had when it first filed for bankruptcy in 2004. Struggling with unsustainable debt levels, the company improperly diverted workers’ pension contributions to fund its operations and gave its CEO a 300% pay increase. When it became clear union members were going to fight these maneuvers, the company declared bankruptcy in 2012 and used Section 1113 of the U.S. Bankruptcy Code to rip up its collective agreements. Despite the threat of liquidation, BCTGM members fought back against Wall Street by striking the company—their only viable option in a bankruptcy system rigged against workers.

Now anti-worker politicians are using these same corporate tactics to betray government employees and retirees. In Michigan, Republican Gov. Rick Snyder authorized a bankruptcy filing for the city of Detroit. He appointed an emergency financial manager who is a bankruptcy attorney from the same law firm that represents Peabody Energy. Despite severe concessions by workers to keep the city afloat, the emergency financial manager forced the city into bankruptcy in a blatant attempt to end-run the Michigan constitution, which protects the pensions earned by public employees.

The labor movement demands reform of our nation’s bankruptcy laws in order to protect workers from disproportionate economic sacrifice. Reform must provide better protection for unpaid wages and benefits and grant workers a separate claim in bankruptcy court for lost pension benefits. Bankruptcy reform should curb executive pay largesse by ensuring that executives do no better than ordinary workers in bankruptcy and by limiting management “incentive” compensation programs. Personal bankruptcy law should be amended to help young workers facing crushing student debts and homeowners facing foreclosure with underwater mortgages. Finally, reforms must prevent employers from using bankruptcy to abolish collective bargaining agreements at will.

The treatment of workers in corporate bankruptcy stands in stark contrast to the way “too-big-to-fail” financial institutions are treated when they face bankruptcy. During the 2008 financial crisis, the federal government ran to the rescue of Wall Street by providing \$700 billion in bailout loans. For example, after A.I.G. received \$180 billion in taxpayer loans, the company paid hundreds of millions in bonuses to executives in the business unit that was responsible for the firm’s collapse. At the time, some argued that to not pay these executive bonuses would abridge the “sanctity of contracts.”

We vow to remember the lessons of the 2008 Wall Street financial crisis that created the worst economic recession since the Great Depression. The labor movement strongly supported the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act that enacted many measures to curb abusive and speculative activity by Wall Street. However, many of its provisions remain to be implemented by government regulators. We continue to call for the full implementation of the Dodd-Frank Act, and we urge government regulators to reject the delaying tactics of Wall Street lobbyists.

The creation of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau is perhaps the Dodd-Frank Act's most visible contribution to protecting working people from the rapacious greed of Wall Street. Since its establishment, the bureau has received more than 175,000 complaints from consumers, sought to halt predatory practices by mortgage lenders, ordered credit card companies to return \$425 million to consumers and investigated shady lending practices on college campuses. We congratulate the CFPB on its work, and commit to fight any effort by Wall Street to undermine the independence and effectiveness of the bureau.

The labor movement places a high priority on implementing the remaining provisions of the Dodd-Frank Act. We strongly believe that all executive pay reforms called for by the Dodd-Frank Act must be swiftly implemented, including the disclosure of CEO-to-worker pay ratios. The SEC must act to close existing loopholes and to ensure that financial professionals providing investment advice, including brokers, owe a duty to act in the best interests of the investors for whom they are working. Regulation of the derivatives markets must be put into place as soon as possible to prevent risky derivatives trading from once again threatening the health of the real economy. Finally, bank regulators must establish an orderly liquidation process that is both workable and credible so that when a too-big-to-fail financial institution does fail, it may be unwound without triggering a systemic financial crisis.

The best way to prevent future government bailouts of too-big-to-fail financial institutions is to end too-big-to-fail once and for all. Since the financial crisis, our banking system has become even more concentrated, as failing firms have been gobbled up by big banks. Between 1935 and 1990 the three largest banks held, on average, 10% of total bank assets. Today, the three largest banks hold more than 40% of bank assets. This concentration of banking power places our entire financial system at greater risk and increases the likelihood that government will bail out Wall Street banks again in the future.

We need to make banking boring again. During the Great Depression, the Glass-Steagall Act was adopted to separate commercial banks, which take deposits and make loans for consumers and businesses, and investment banking, which entails more risky and speculative activity. The Glass-Steagall Act prohibited banks backed by government deposit insurance from engaging in overly risky activities. During the 50 years after passage of the Glass-Steagall Act, bank failures were rare and our economy generated the longest period of broad-based prosperity in our nation's history.

In the 1980s, Wall Street lobbyists pressured financial regulators to erode the firewalls between commercial and investment banking, and critical provisions of the Glass-Steagall Act were repealed entirely in 1999. It is time to end our country's 30-year experiment with financial deregulation, which has resulted in historic income inequality and stagnant economic growth. This starts with enacting a new Glass-Steagall Act to return banking to its proper role in our economy. We also need to limit concentration of the banking industry and break up too-big-to-fail financial institutions. To this end, we commend the work of Sens. Sherrod Brown, Maria Cantwell, Angus King, John McCain, David Vitter and Elizabeth Warren to reform our banking system.

But financial reform cannot be limited to overhauling our banking system. Government regulators must also provide greater oversight of the "shadow banking system" of complex financial instruments, including credit default swaps and other derivatives, hedge funds, repurchase agreements and structured investment vehicles. This shadow banking system mimics the role of banks in our capital markets without the same level of regulatory oversight. It is the fabric that binds countless financial institutions to one another and creates the interconnections that can cause systemic crisis.

Finally, it is time to rein in excessive speculation in the financial markets. Broad-based prosperity requires long-term investment, not speculative trading. We need to require Wall Street speculators to pay their fair share of taxes by implementing a financial speculation tax. A small tax on sales of stocks, bonds and complex financial instruments will raise needed tax revenue that can be invested to create jobs by rebuilding America's infrastructure. Moreover, a financial speculation tax will deter the type of casino capitalism that has become too rampant in our capital markets.

Everywhere we look in our capital markets, we see stark differences between the treatment of those with wealth and power compared to working people. The fight to restore our economy to health requires that we reform our bankruptcy laws and financial system. Workers who have played by the rules and helped create value for their employers deserve a fair shake when their employers file for bankruptcy. And we cannot ever again allow Wall Street to threaten Main Street with financial Armageddon. With these reforms, we can provide a shared prosperity for all.

Action items:

1. Launch a campaign to reform corporate and municipal bankruptcy law to protect workers' retirement security and collective bargaining agreements, and to prevent looting by corporate executives, bankruptcy attorneys and Wall Street.
2. Work with our community allies to demand personal bankruptcy relief for excessive student loans and underwater home mortgages by permitting bankruptcy judges to modify the terms of these loans just like other forms of debt.

3. Use our political voice to demand strong implementation of the Dodd-Frank Act, passage of new legislation to break up too-big-to-fail banks, and implementation of a financial transaction tax to make Wall Street pay its fair share.
4. Educate ourselves so that we do not forget the devastating consequences of lax Wall Street regulation, and to expose the unfairness of a bankruptcy system that favors corporations and creditors over workers and communities.
(*End Resolution No. 14*)

TRUMKA: The next issue that we'll take up as part of our efforts to ensure shared prosperity in the global economy is "Retirement Security for All." Resolution 11 subsumes Proposed Resolution 45.

We'll hear, again, from Committee Co-Chair Roberta Reardon.
Roberta.

RESOLUTION NO. 11 ***Retirement Security for All***

REARDON: Thank you, Rich.

To begin our discussion of this resolution, I would like to call on Tom Rankin, the treasurer of the California Alliance for Retired Americans and past president of the California Labor Federation, and Rob England of the Kern, Inyo and Mono Counties Central Labor Council and a CWA member. We know that retirement security is a concern that spans the generations.

Tom and Rob are at microphone two. Tom?

TOM RANKIN, California Alliance for Retired Americans: On behalf of the Alliance for Retired Americans, I rise in support of Resolution 11, "Retirement Security for All."

ROB ENGLAND, Kern, Inyo and Mono Counties (Calif.) Central Labor Council: Tom, on behalf of American young workers, I rise in support and join you.

RANKIN: Thanks, Rob.

You know that retirement security in this country basically came out of the New Deal. The New Deal came out of the recession, or the Great Depression, rather, and we had, at that time, 50% of seniors in this country were in poverty, 25% of workers were unemployed, and the people responded. There was a movement created and the government responded to that movement. The result was the New Deal.

The Social Security Act was a part of the New Deal. It now covers almost 60 million Americans, retired Americans, 62 and over, disabled workers, their spouses and the children.

I'm one of those children who benefited, because my father died when I was about 11 years old. My mother got Social Security, that's why I can be here today.

So it's a great program that's been expanded over the years and improved, but now it's under grave attack.

The other part of the New Deal which helped with retirement security, brought it for a lot of people, including me, was the Wagner Act, which gave us the right to organize and collectively bargain.

Over time, we bargained defined-benefit pensions at one point for about 40% of the private work force.

ENGLAND: Well, today's young workers don't hear about those successes. We're constantly told not to expect to receive any Social Security benefits, and that defined-benefit pensions are more endangered than a tea partier with a conscience.

RANKIN: But you know, Rob, that that's not true.

ENGLAND: Of course. That's why young workers across the country have been fighting for retirement security.

It's not a seasoned worker's issue. It's not a young worker's issue. It's simply a worker's issue.

Now, we live in a rich nation, and we don't believe the lie that we can't afford a decent and healthy retirement for America's workers anymore. The question before us is not how best to cut Social Security and Medicare, the question is how to create a retirement system that delivers adequate and secure retirement income for everyone, not just the lucky few.

I and young workers across the country are ready to work with you in this fight.

RANKIN: Thanks, Rob. We stand ready to work with you.

We're not going to fall victim to the great propaganda machine that's been created by billionaires, like Pete Peterson, to undermine Social Security and Medicare and pensions of all kinds, public and private. So we're going to work together and build a great coalition as this whole convention has been dedicated to building and save retirement and expand Social Security, and bring Medicare in the end to everyone.

REARDON: Thank you.

Today's retirement system places workers' interests beneath those of employers, the financial services industry, and even foreign bondholders. And as a result, more than half of U.S. households are at risk of being unable to maintain their standard of living in retirement.

In Resolution 11, "Retirement Security for All," we commit to leading a movement to ensure retirement security for all—this generation, our parents and grandparents, and our children and grandchildren as well.

The retirement system we envision operates solely in the interest of workers and retirees. It is a retirement system in which Social Security, employer-paid pensions and individual retirement savings all have important roles to play, and economic security in retirement is a shared responsibility of employers, individuals and government. In the retirement system we will push for, adequate benefits are earned and enough money is contributed throughout everyone's working years, with suitable portability; risk is well managed and benefits last a lifetime.

To create that system, Resolution 11 commits us to opposing any reduction in Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid benefits, no matter how cuts would be accomplished or who proposes them. We should be improving Social Security benefits instead, as well as repealing laws and regulations that threaten private pensions and protecting public employee pensions from political attacks. We will fight employers' manipulation of bankruptcy law and use of restructuring to escape their benefit obligations to workers and retirees, whether in the private sector of companies like Patriot Coal or in municipalities like Detroit.

Workers have more than \$9 trillion in government, corporate and multiemployer pension funds, and that money must be invested reasonably and free from conflicts of interest.

The changes we're talking about are big. They won't come quickly and they won't come easily. The AFL-CIO commits to doing what it takes to attain retirement security for all.

On behalf of the Committee on Shared Prosperity in the Global Economy, I proudly move the adoption of Resolution 11, "Retirement Security for All," and I so move.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 11 be adopted. Is there debate? Chair recognizes delegate at mike 1.

GLEN MIDDLETON, AFSCME: Good morning, Mr. Chairman.

TRUMKA: Good morning, Brother.

MIDDLETON: I'm out of Maryland. I'm a rank-and-file member of AFSCME, President Lee Saunders and our Secretary-Treasurer Laura Reyes. I've been a member of AFSCME over 35 years. Today I stand proudly in support of Resolution 11.

Across this country, our great country that we built, mayors and elected officials we fought hard to get elected are turning their backs on all of our members and attempting to balance the budget on the backs of our children and workers throughout this country.

Baltimore City is no different. Our current mayor, Stephanie Rawlings-Blake, who actually is the secretary of the National DNC, the Democratic National Committee, has decided to follow the path of turncoat Democrats like Philadelphia Mayor Nutter. *(Booing)*

She is targeting workers and the vital services that we all provide for the city of Baltimore. She is working hard to implement a 10-year plan to nowhere. It's going to divide the city into two cities, one for the haves and one for the have-nots. We have to stop this immediately with all your help.

Mr. Chairman, fundamentally, this 10-year plan to nowhere puts taxes on our earned leave, our sick leave, vacation leave and leave to care for our loved ones. We have already suffered years of pay freezes and furloughs.

Further, she has attacked our retired brothers and sisters who have retired on fixed incomes through increases in their health care.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, having attacked current and retired city employees, this mayor, Stephanie Rawlings-Blake, her plan now targets those who have yet to join the union in January. All new hires, there will be a new pension plan that's going to be a 401(k) that only benefits Wall Street. It only benefits the rich. It doesn't benefit the future of the city of Baltimore.

So like other mayors and other elected officials around this country, it's time for us to stop these kind of elected officials and draw that line in the sand.

It's important that we stop the ultra-rich from benefiting, and large developments from making money on the backs of the working poor.

As I close, Mr. Chairman, I stand today because we have to watch this mayor so it doesn't travel to other cities and states around the country, and that we can fight for our hard-won benefits and stand together and fight, and if we have to, un-elect her because we draw that line in the sand, and then we say you're either with us or against us.

I hope you all will support this resolution because it builds the future for the next generation. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

SALVATORE LUCIANO, AFSCME: I'm a proud AFSCME member. Our sisters and brothers, as you heard earlier, in the private sector are on the front lines in the attacks on their retirement security. Now public workers are also facing an unrelenting assault. We have a growing retirement security crisis in America that threatens all working people.

Americans are less prepared for retirement today than in the last four decades. The overwhelming majority of people are anxious about their ability to retire.

Older workers are working longer and delaying their retirement, which means younger workers have far fewer opportunities for jobs and advancement. Most workers are simply scraping and struggling to survive, let alone put aside money for the future. Women, low-income workers and people of color are particularly hard hit by the crisis. This is not an accident nor is it the will of God. This is bad policy driven by sadistic and greedy CEOs who are indifferent to workers working until their bodies break down, indifferent to elderly living in privation and want.

Sisters and brothers, this is what plutocracy looks like. Older people are the most vulnerable to poverty, usually needing more money to do things we all take for granted, such as preparing meals, cleaning or simply getting around.

The union movement has to be the driving force that makes retirement security a key political and policy issue in the coming years.

At the national level, AFSCME is building a coalition to fight for retirement security for all. We currently have more than 30 different groups that range from faith and community organizing networks to AARP to the National Council of La Raza to Health Care For America Now, to the AFL, to the AFT, and many other unions sitting here.

I hope you will join us in the fight for retirement security for all. Getting old often means a loss of independence. Don't let it also mean a loss of security and dignity.

Support this resolution. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Chair recognizes delegate at mike 3.

BARBARA WHITE STACK, USW: Thank you, Chairman. Good morning, brothers and sisters, workers, and union members.

TRUMKA: Good morning.

WHITE STACK: I'm a proud member of the United Steel, Paper and Forestry, Rubber Manufacturing, Energy, Allied Industrial and Service Workers International Union. (*Applause*)

I am also a proud former member of The Newspaper Guild-CWA. My brother is a Machinist. My father and his father were union carpenters. My mother was a union teacher. And my father-in-law was a Steelworker.

I am the product of union families, and I have benefited from unions' historical demand for retirement security, so I rise in support of this resolution.

Both of my parents lived middle-class lives in retirement because of good union pensions and good union-provided retirement health care. Thank you all for that.

By contrast, do you recall the photos of those aged and infirmed Soviet pensioners sweeping streets in frigid weather? Is that what we want? Is that where we want to go? No. We demand retirement security for all.

Do you recall the cat food era in the United States before Medicare, when our own pensioners ate cheap pet food so that they could afford their heart pills? Do we want to go back there? No. We demand retirement security for all. That includes solid Social Security, solid medication and good employer-provided pensions for all.

Let's talk about Social Security for just a minute. You keep hearing it's gone bankrupt; right? Well, it's not. Every day, all day long, every year, you pay 6.2% of your income into Social Security. But the rich don't do that. They pay 6.2% on their first \$113,700, and then they stop. They don't pay anything after that. It's called the Social Security cap. It benefits the rich and it screws everybody else.

Is that cap just? No. Is it just that the rich pay a lower percent than everyday workers do? No. Do we want Wall Street bankers and multinational CEOs, all of the millionaires, to pay a smaller tax than workers? No. We demand retirement security for all.

Kill the cap. Please pass this resolution. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

HOLLY HART, USW: Hello, Mr. Chairman. I am a delegate from the United Steelworkers. I have to confess, I cannot remember the full name of my union.

TRUMKA: We're going to have a quiz on that later.

HART: I rise in support of Resolution No. 11. I want to speak from a personal perspective.

My father died when I was 16 years old. He worked as a sales representative for a U.S. furniture manufacturer. My mother didn't work. She was a stay-at-home mom. His employer was kind enough to pay her his salary for a year. Without that charity and the help provided by Social Security survivor benefits, my family would not have survived.

My mom was lucky, that charity that his employer wasn't required to give gave her the time she needed to find a job. She later remarried, and she was lucky enough to marry a man who had a union pension and union-sponsored health care. She's fine now. She's living a nice, middle-class, dignified retirement.

Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid are more than just retirement security, they're family security. Lawmakers right now on Capitol Hill have the absolute gall to tell people, like my 83-year-old mom, my sister who works her ass off as a respiratory therapist in a hospital without a union and without a pension, and a friend of mine who's a house painter that has late-stage colon cancer and is surviving on Medicaid, that he's going to just have to give a little more. All in the guise of strengthening these programs. That's why we all have to commit to the strong support of this resolution and all the action points today and going forward.

Why should those workers that make over a hundred thousand dollars a year not have to continue to pay their fair share for Social Security and continue paying taxes?

Anyway, I rise in strong support of this resolution and ask the body to support it. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister Holly. Chair recognizes delegate at mike 2.

KATHLEEN DONAHUE, AFT: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm a proud delegate and vice president of the American Federation of Teachers, and a vice president of the New York State United Teachers. I stand in support of the Resolution 11, "Retirement Security for All."

Today, 84% of Americans are worried about their ability to achieve a secure retirement, and they should be. The current retirement income deficit gap is between what they can expect to earn in retirement and what they need. That gap is \$6.6 trillion.

Young and middle-aged Americans have been losing pension protection, home equity, 401(k) value and jobs in the recession. This is creating a fast-approaching retirement income crisis for people who are in their 40s and 50s. These are the baby boomers, and according to a recent New York Times article, their generation will be the first to do worse in retirement than their parents.

We must change the debate from an attack on Social Security and pensions to guaranteeing retirement security for all. Social Security is an earned benefit over a lifetime of work, and we have to recognize its importance as the foundation of financial security and retirement.

Two-thirds of eligible beneficiaries rely solely on Social Security for half of their income in retirement. Social Security, foundational life insurance, disability insurance

and retirement savings are the most efficient, comprehensive, fair and effective protection that's available.

Social Security is a principal insurer against family impoverishment, disability or death of a worker. Pension plan investments can and are helping to build America's infrastructure through projects such as a smart electrical grid, expanded access to high and wireless communications and a high-speed rail system.

Pension plans can put Americans back to work and make the USA more competitive in the 21st century global economy. This resolution supports retirement security for all. It calls on the AFL-CIO to bring the full weight of its strength—

TRUMKA: Sister, I have to ask you to wrap up. Your time's expired.

DONAHUE: Yes, sir.

We have a responsibility to secure the dignity of our families and ourselves. We have the responsibility to secure that retired workers can afford to live in the middle class. And we have a responsibility to all workers to fight for their retirement. Please support this resolution. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister.

Seeing no further debate, the question's on the adoption of Resolution 11. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no. Resolution 11 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolution covered by it appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

RESOLUTION NO. 11

Retirement Security for All

FOR TOO LONG, our national retirement security discussion has been about everything but the interests of workers and retirees. We are told we must boost the confidence of foreign bondholders; keep taxes low for the top 1%; minimize employer cost and risk; protect financial services industry profits; and cut benefits because of the latest reports from discredited credit ratings agencies. Meanwhile, workers and retirees must do with less, bear more risk, and go it alone.

Most Americans' prospects for a decent retirement are shrinking. Over half of households are at risk of being unable to maintain their standard of living in retirement, up from fewer than one in three in 1983. Two-thirds of Social Security beneficiaries 65 and older rely on its modest benefits for half or more of their income. The number of workers fortunate enough to have a traditional pension continues to drop: Just 14% of private-sector workers have one today, compared with 45% in 1975.

While the now-dominant individual retirement savings accounts are touted as superior substitutes for pensions, just three in five of those closest to, or just into, retirement have been able to save anything at all, and the typical balance is \$100,000. This translates into just over \$330 in monthly retirement income. The failure of these plans should come as no surprise given the backdrop of stagnating compensation and sharply increasing economic inequality.

It is time for our country to commit to moving from retirement security for just a lucky few to retirement security for all. Getting there will require expanding Social Security; strengthening our existing pension systems; and creating new ways for workers to build retirement security when employers are unwilling or unable to do what is necessary.

Retirement security for all begins with Social Security. It provides a fundamental base of financial security and dignity for Americans in retirement, those unable to work due to a disability, and to young children when a working parent dies. If Social Security has a weakness, it is that its benefit levels are too modest. Its benefits must be increased across the board. Moreover, Social Security's cost-of-living (COLA) adjustments should be higher to reflect the larger share of seniors' incomes that goes to health care and housing.

On Capitol Hill, however, the Social Security debate has focused on how "best" to cut benefits. Astonishingly, cuts are justified as necessary to "strengthen" the program and avoid any tax increase on the wealthy. We oppose any reduction in Social Security benefits, as well as in Medicare and Medicaid benefits, be it through "indexing benefits for longevity" (i.e., increasing retirement ages), "updating" the annual COLA calculation (i.e., cutting cost-of-living adjustments), or any other euphemism for cutting benefits.

Cutting benefits is not required to address Social Security's modest long-term funding needs. As a variety of recent proposals show, raising the cap on wages subject to the payroll tax is essential to any solution. We also reaffirm our longstanding position that mandatory coverage of all public employees has no place in any funding plan and support proposals to bring fairness to public-sector retirees by addressing any inequities created by the Government Pension Offset and Windfall Elimination Provision.

Besides improving Social Security benefits, we must fight for workers' pensions in the face of persistent attacks by those who would cut, freeze or eliminate them for private-sector workers; state, local and federal employees; and rail workers. Defined-benefit pensions are the cornerstone of our retirement system outside of Social Security. But despite the fact that they remain the soundest and most cost-effective vehicles for building and safeguarding retirement income security—with their professional asset managers, lower investment fees and better returns—traditional

pensions are subject to continued assault by employers and politicians. Accordingly, we affirm the labor movement's unwavering commitment to:

- Repeal the federal law and regulations that have enabled the assaults on private pensions. In particular, we must replace the 2006 Pension Protection Act with new funding rules that will support and grow defined-benefit pension plans.
- Advocate for sensible accounting rules, for both private and public plans, that promote vibrant pension systems rather than the current hostile regulatory environment.
- Work with a broadened coalition of allies to protect state and local workers' pensions against political attacks that seek to take advantage of government fiscal pressures, capital market weaknesses and the failure of some government employers faithfully to make required contributions to employee plans.
- Fight against employers' manipulation of bankruptcy law and use of restructuring to escape their benefit obligations to workers and retirees, whether in the private sector at companies like Patriot Coal or in municipalities like Detroit.
- Call on the federal government to support the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation, so that single-employer and multiemployer programs are in better financial condition.

Union members have a big stake in the success and integrity of our retirement system. They have chosen, through collective bargaining or other means, to defer a substantial portion of their wages into pensions and other retirement plans. Retirement savings are the primary way union members invest in the capital markets, and their retirement money is their biggest financial asset.

To aid in the creation of a sound economy, an essential condition for a secure retirement, we should invest the more than \$9 trillion in government, corporate and multiemployer pension funds in economically productive ways. Pension funds need sustainable, long-term returns, and our economy needs patient, responsibly invested capital for broad-based prosperity. Meeting these objectives requires consideration of environmental, social and corporate governance ("ESG") standards.

The labor movement's long and successful track record of promoting responsible investing includes labor-invested real estate funds that have created good union construction jobs and affordable housing; worker-friendly private equity funds that have saved jobs from bankruptcies; and activist public equity funds that have encouraged greater corporate accountability. Through our participation in the governance of multiemployer and public pension funds, we will continue to promote new private and public infrastructure investment products designed to produce competitive returns while creating jobs, but we reject the notion that the investment necessary for a competitive economy requires the privatization of public

infrastructure. The experience of the last 10 years is that privatization enriches Wall Street, while leading to losses for investors, higher fees for the public and, ultimately, inadequate investment in infrastructure.

While acknowledging our successes, we must scale up for the challenge of creating an economy that works for all. We strongly believe pension funds must be invested for the exclusive goal of providing workers with a secure retirement. Consistent with that, we encourage pension funds covering our members and retirees to update their investment policies and practices to address ESG standards and put at least some of their portfolio in responsible investments; use their voice as investors to promote sustainable business practices; encourage the disclosure of sustainable performance indicators; and promote the investment industry's acceptance of ESG standards. To support these goals, the AFL-CIO will develop model policy language on responsible investing and collaborate with other capital market participants to promote ESG standards.

Ensuring that workers' retirement assets are invested in their best interests also means rooting out the conflicts of interest of many financial advisers and other professionals. We call on the federal government to use its clear authority to expand prohibitions against conflicts of interest whenever financial professionals are providing advice on the investment of retirement money.

Protecting what remains of the pension system, however, will not be enough to achieve retirement security for all. Too few workers even have a pension or a retirement savings plan that will produce enough for a decent retirement. And all other workers are at risk, as employers and politicians continue their push to cut or eliminate retirement benefits.

For those for whom the existing system falls short, we must create a new path toward retirement security. For most of America, a secure retirement means you are lucky enough to have a retirement plan with low-cost investments delivering decent returns; to earn enough to contribute to the plan; to live through a time when the markets return historically average or better returns and do not drop precipitously at the wrong time; and to live not so long that your money runs out.

A retirement system that delivers adequate and secure retirement income to everyone, not just the lucky, is one in which:

- Social Security, employer-paid pensions and individual retirement savings all have important roles to play;
- Economic security in retirement is a shared responsibility of employers, individuals and government;
- Adequate benefits are earned and enough money is contributed throughout everyone's working years, with suitable portability;

- Retirement plans appropriately balance, manage and pool capital market risks for workers' core retirement income;
- Benefits are focused on delivering retirement income that is secure and lasts throughout retirement, with provision for survivor benefits; and
- Plans are operated solely in the interest of workers and retirees.

Change of this magnitude will not come quickly, and it will not come at all if we do not start now. Likely, change will proceed in many steps, big and small, and require building an aggressive, broad-based movement to challenge the status quo. The AFL-CIO commits itself to leading that movement to achieve retirement security for all.

(End Resolution No. 11)

TRUMKA: For our next discussion we have Committee Vice Chair Jorge Ramirez. Jorge. *(Applause)*

RESOLUTION NO. 13

Safe Jobs—Every Worker's Right

JORGE RAMIREZ, Chicago (Ill.) Federation of Labor and Industrial Union Council:

Thank you, President Trumka. I'd like to say thank you to Co-Chairs Reardon and Gerard for the fine work that they have done getting us to this point. Thank you very much for your leadership.

The next issue we will take up as part of our efforts to ensure shared prosperity in the global economy is "Safe Jobs—Every Worker's Right," Resolution 13.

The safe jobs resolution links the battle for workplace safety here in the United States in construction, in coal mines and Walmarts and hospitals to similar battles around the world, such as the great fight for legally binding, independently enforceable worker safety and workers' rights standards in Bangladesh.

On April 24th, 2013, an eight-story commercial building known as Rana Plaza collapsed in the capital city of Bangladesh. The death toll was 1,200 workers, and more than 2,500 injured people were rescued from the building alive. It is considered to be the deadliest garment factory accident in history as well as the deadliest structural failure in modern human history.

Unions and workers' organizations are leading the call for justice for these workers and holding the global garment corporations accountable for the sweatshops that they support. One person at the forefront of the fight for workers' rights, safe jobs and corporate accountability is Kalpona Akter from the Bangladesh Center for Worker Solidarity.

When she was just 12 years old, Kalpona started working in Bangladesh's garment factories. She worked 14-hour days for just \$6 a month. Fired and blacklisted for organizing at the sweatshop factory where she worked, she joined with other former garment workers to launch the Bangladesh Center for Worker Solidarity. Internationally respected, the center is a grassroots organization that

protects the human and labor rights of workers and children in Bangladesh.

Brothers and sisters, Kalpona Akter. (*Applause*)

KALPONA AKTER

Bangladesh Center for Worker Solidarity

Good morning. Brothers and sisters, I bring greetings from the many Bangladeshi workers who are trying to organize unions, improve working conditions and better their lives and those of their families and children. I know firsthand the problems workers face in unsafe workplaces.

As a child, I worked in garment factories under dangerous conditions. I witnessed horrible injuries and saw many Bangladeshi garment workers die in fires and building collapses. I see how unsafe work makes many workers prematurely age due to excessive hours in unhealthy workplaces.

In April, Bangladeshi workers suffered the worst garment industry disaster in history. Rana Plaza, a building that included many garment factories, collapsed, killing over a thousand mainly women workers, with hundreds more injured. Before that, 112 Bangladeshi workers died in the Tazreen garment factory fire in November 2012. There were no fire escapes and exits were locked.

These preventable massacres have finally brought worldwide attention to the fact that millions of Bangladeshi workers risk their lives every day simply by going to work. At Rana, managers and owners forced workers to enter the building even though everyone saw large cracks in the walls. We feel that workers would not have returned to the building if they had been in a union.

Since 2005, we have lost 1,834 workers to fires and building collapses. And this is only in the garment industry. Many also die, mostly boys and young men, in the ship-breaking industry. In the United States you had events like the Triangle Shirtwaist fire that happened over a hundred years ago. You still have workplace disasters, but you have made it clear here that industry does not have to be that way. If workers organize unions and know their rights and laws, and government does its job, industry can be held accountable. Workers can produce without risking health and life. The economy can grow and workers can share in this prosperity.

We want work, but we want safe, dignified work in healthy conditions. We demand the right to refuse work that is unsafe. We must be able to create unions in our factories to hold accountable the managers, factory owners and multinational companies like Walmart and Gap, and our government, that have failed for decades to improve these conditions. (*Standing ovation*)

This is why we have worked with unions and allies in Bangladesh and around the world, including U.S. unions, to negotiate a binding agreement that makes corporations provide safe working conditions. The Accord on Fire and Building Safety in Bangladesh has been signed by over 80 companies, the majority of which are not in the U.S. Many U.S. corporations, like Gap and Walmart, still refuse to make a real commitment to binding safety regulations in their supply chain.

It is time for the empty promises of our government, our employers and the big international companies to stop. (*Applause*)

After every disaster, factory owners, the government, and the companies in the U.S. and Europe all say they are not the ones to blame, or that that they will ensure another workplace disaster does not happen.

Then, in a matter of weeks or months, we see more death and injuries.

We are working to organize unions and to make employers and multinationals provide compensation for dead and injured workers and their families. Global companies that have drawn decades of profit from these workers, paying the lowest wages in the world, now do not want to compensate workers who have paid the highest price.

As workers here and elsewhere, we demand safe workplaces and corporate accountability, and we demand our right to unite and defend ourselves in our union. Today, as a Bangladeshi worker, I speak in support of this resolution to ensure safe and healthy workplaces for all workers worldwide.

Please support Resolution 13. Thank you. *(Applause)*

RAMIREZ: Thank you, Kalpona, for all the work you do on behalf of workers in your own country and worldwide. Your work is leading to changes not only on health and safety issues but taking on the way global corporations profit from these kind of death trap-like workplace conditions.

We know here in our own country there are also death traps and unsafe working conditions for workers, from the deadly explosion at the West Fertilizer Company in Texas to the dangers facing firefighters who continue to fight the blaze close to Yosemite park. Health and safety is the key to good jobs. This resolution also makes clear the link between the right to safety and the right to organize and bargain collectively.

Finally, the resolution calls out the Office of Management and Budget of the Obama administration for delaying many key worker protection rules, costing lives. The resolution commits us to fight to enact much-needed health and safety rules, including the silica and coal dust rules, to oppose deregulatory employer efforts, to educate workers on health and safety issues, and to oppose efforts to use trade agreements to weaken workers' safety rules.

On behalf of the committee, I move the adoption of the Resolution 13. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: So the committee recommends that Resolution 13 be adopted. Is there debate? There is. The chair calls on the delegate at mike 3.

TIM WATERS, North Alabama Area Labor Council: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I rise in support of Resolution 13, but I wanted also to say just how much our union respects Kalpona and the work that she's done in Bangladesh. *(Applause)*

And also the work of the unions over there that struggle daily just to exist. In Bangladesh, unions are not like unions we know here, like us. They have no right to collectively bargain, they have no right to bargain for safe workplaces that are so desperately needed.

As Kalpona said, the death toll from this disaster has reached 1,134. Some 2,400 survivors, hundreds are still hospitalized, missing arms, missing legs, hands, head

injuries. Suffering from post-traumatic stress. They and their families never will be the same.

But also there are still 330 missing in this collapse. The families still stand outside this disaster waiting to see and get some word about their loved ones.

Workers there, as we learned from a delegation that President Gerard sent to Bangladesh, workers there were working 13- to 14.5-hour shifts, six and seven days a week, 14 to 26 cents an hour. Kalpona mentioned the Triangle Shirtwaist fire disaster that happened in New York City in 1911. Accounting for inflation, Mr. Chairman, the wages today when this building collapsed, when these folks were caught in this disaster, are one-tenth—allowing for inflation—one-tenth of what workers were making in 1911 in the U.S.

We've gone backwards in time, Mr. Chairman. I won't take any more time, but if I have any time, I would give back the balance and ask, if it's the pleasure of the chair, that you would ask for a moment of silence for the workers and their families and the ones that are still missing. Thanks.

TRUMKA: The delegate has asked for a special privilege, that special privilege being a moment of silence for those workers in Bangladesh. The chair grants that request.

We will please stand for a moment of silence.

...A moment of silence was observed.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

HOLLY HART, USW: Thank you Mr. Chairman. I rise in strong support of Resolution No. 13. I work in an office. My eyes get blurry from my computer, I have carpal tunnel syndrome. But I work for a union that represents workers that risk their lives every day when they go to work.

I rise in support, Mr. Chairman, for our member Alan White, who stood with Secretary Perez just two weeks ago, I believe, or last week when the administration released the silica standard—a standard that took 40 years to improve.

Unfortunately, due to his silicosis, Alan White doesn't have 40 years. In fact, he might have only 15 to 20 years left of his life, cut short by his job that he goes to every day at a foundry.

I rise in support of this resolution for all the workers that risk their lives every day at refineries, in mines, on construction sites, in public service, and in sweatshops and garment factories around the globe that our lax trade agreements have allowed to proliferate. I urge swift action on this resolution. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

DAVID GRAY, AFT: I rise in support of Resolution 13. Every worker has a fundamental right to a safe and healthy workplace free of recognized hazards. Yet, every year thousands of workers are tragically killed on the job in preventable disasters.

Case in point: Over a thousand Bangladesh garment workers were killed in a building collapse this year.

Case in point: 29 coal miners died in an explosion at the Massey Energy Upper Big Branch Mine in 2010.

Case in point: Six educators and union members and 20 children they loved and cared for in Newtown, Connecticut, were victims of violence on the job.

Most workers' deaths, however, are one by one on the job. Every year at least 4,500 workers die on the job from injuries, while another 50,000 die from work-related illnesses. Over 2 million workers across the globe die from work-related injuries. These are not, by and large, accidents as the press portrays them, but evidence of blatant employer negligence.

So the labor movement's advocacy has been responsible for improving working conditions in reducing these numbers since the passage of OSHA and MSHA.

However, years of Bush administration hostility at OSHA and MSHA, fortified by the anti-regulatory agenda of the current Republican majority in the House of Representatives, have weakened enforcement and worker whistleblower protection.

Workers need more safety and health protection, not less. We need better, up-to-date OSHA standards to protect workers from toxic chemicals and emerging hazards such as pandemic influenza. We need continued funding from the National Institution for Occupational Safety and Health for research and professional training. We need universal public employee OSHA coverage.

So we must join allies, health and worker activists, families of injured workers and others to demand stronger laws in OSHA and MSHA standards to cover all workers.

We need to challenge employer retaliatory efforts and policies to discourage reporting. We need to educate workers and union members about their rights to a safe and healthy environment. We need to fight efforts to use international trade agreements to lower safety and health standards. And we must hold global corporations accountable for their chronic neglect of workers and safety.

I urge adoption of this resolution. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Delegate at mike 3.

BOB LaVENTURE, USW: I'm the director of District 12 with the United Steelworkers and a proud member of that union for over 43 years.

Last weekend I traveled with a group of USW activists and USAS, the United Students Against Sweatshops, to a demonstration in front of a North Face store in Beverly Hills. When we entered the store, it was amazing to me to see all these mannequins that had no face. It reminded me immediately of the workers in Bangladesh that must toil every day in sweatshops and have no face. We as the leaders of organized labor have an obligation and a duty to put a face on those mannequins.

We as leaders of organized labor must fight what we can do to give those workers their due respect. Thank you. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

It's ironic that as we debate the very issue, I just received news, breaking news that there's been an accident at St. Paul; that there has been a partial building

collapse at Lowertown Ballpark, and at least one construction worker was killed.

Case in point.

Delegate at mike 1.

VICE PRESIDENT JAMES BOLAND, Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers: Mr. Chairman, sisters and brothers, I'm the president of the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers. And together with my BAC brothers and sisters I rise in support of Resolution 13.

People join unions to make their lives better. The reasons I joined my union 40 years ago were simple—union masonry jobs were cleaner, safer and better paid than nonunion jobs. Now, I still believe that improved safety and health protections are among the most significant ways as a union movement we can make the lives of working people better. As President Obama said yesterday, no one should risk their life to make a living.

Building and construction trades workers, including the members of BAC, face danger every day on the job, and they die on the job in numbers greater than in any other industry. For over 2 million American workers, immigrants, guest workers and those born right here, one of the greatest and most insidious dangers on the job is silica dust. As they build better lives, as they build a better America, workers are falling ill and dying by the hundreds and thousands from diseases caused by the dust they breathe every day—diseases that are irreversible, but they're entirely preventable.

The problem isn't new. Silica kills today and silica has killed construction workers for centuries. Silica has killed multiple generations of our members, and sometimes within single families. Sons and daughters who watch their once-strong parents suffocate and slowly wither away, agonize, knowing that their children will likely suffer the same grief, or worse, suffer the same fate.

And that's why, for more than four decades, we have been fighting for a stronger silica standard. And finally, on Friday, August 23rd of this year, OSHA released its proposed silica standard, which will save thousands of lives.

Rich, my brother, we would not be at this point without you as a champion of the revised standard. *(Applause)*

I know you fought for us on this issue each and every time you spoke to the administration over the past several years. On behalf of the trowel trades, craft workers everywhere, including myself, I thank you.

But our work on the standard is not yet done. American workers desperately need the newly issued silica standard to be finalized. Just two days ago Valerie Jarrett told delegates that the administration is committed to making that happen. BAC is committed to bringing all our resources to bear in order to get this done. The Building and Construction Trades Department and the building trades unions are committed. Community partners are committed. Brothers and sisters, we are now asking this convention to likewise commit the labor movement as a whole to seeing this through. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

BOLAND: In closing, I ask you this, if even a few dozen investment bankers or Wall Street executives were dying from an easily prevented toxic workplace substance every year, would there be any delay in fixing the problem?

No. We all know the answer.

But I also know and this convention knows that the life of a construction worker isn't worth any less than a CEO of Goldman Sachs.

TRUMKA: Hear, hear.

BOLAND: Silica kills. We can stop it and we will stop it. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, all.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Jim. The chair recognizes the brother at mike 2.

VICE PRESIDENT CECIL ROBERTS, UMWA: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm the president of the United Mine Workers of America. I'm also the chairman of the AFL-CIO Health and Safety Committee.

I want to stand before this delegation today and thank the AFL-CIO Executive Council, and I want to thank you and your fellow officers for standing for health and safety every single day.

I want to pay a special tribute to Peg Seminario for the fine work that she does with all of our unions. We have a valuable resource there.

Since we last gathered in convention—and I want you to think about this, we're not talking about some other country, I'm talking about the United States of America—we have lost 200,000 workers in this country from occupational illness. That's black lung, white lung, brown lung and cancer. We have also lost, Mr. Chairman, approximately 18,000 workers in this country since we last gathered in convention. That is unacceptable in the greatest country on Earth. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Hear, hear.

ROBERTS: One year after we left the convention, we had two tragedies that we all remember. One was the Upper Big Branch explosion, and the other was BP in the Gulf Coast. And I appreciate the work that my fellow brother, Leo Gerard, did and the Steelworkers did in bringing that to our attention and in defending those families.

But I've got a cure for some of this, Mr. Chairman. We need strong unions in all the workplaces in America to protect these workers. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Hear, hear.

ROBERTS: We need one other thing. We talked about mass incarceration on this floor yesterday of our brothers and our sisters in the inner communities of this country, people of color. But Don Blankenship was the CEO at Upper Big Branch. He knew what was going on there. If there was justice in America, the U.S. Marshals

would be going to his home this morning, putting him in handcuffs, putting him in leg irons and marching his sorry ass off to jail. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Strong message to follow. *(Laughter)* Thanks, Cec. Delegate at mike 2.

DESAI: Many taxi tycoons also need to be arrested and belong in jails for the unbelievably unsafe conditions that taxi drivers face in this country day after day after day.

A partition would save a life by over 80%. And it costs less than \$300 to purchase and install. Yet, in the vast majority of the cities in our country, taxi drivers labor 60 to 70 hours a week completely unprotected. And because we are independent contractors, we're not even covered by OSHA. OSHA does not even investigate when a driver is killed on the job. And we know too many, brothers and sisters. We had a sister in Florida who was gang raped by her passengers, tied, bound up, left in the trunk of her cab.

We had a taxi driver who during an apparent road rage was assaulted, left bleeding on the ground, was in a coma for over three years, died in that hospital bed. And the only thing that the taxi company wanted to know from his wife and his three daughters was, when they were going to pay the lease for the rest of that week. That is a true story.

This is an industry that is so deeply inhumane because we continue to live in an economy that is too deeply inhumane. And we as a labor movement must send a strong message that it does not matter the classification of that working person. Every single worker has a right to come home safe at the end of a grueling shift. *(Applause)*

That's right.

I also stand before you as a daughter, a proud daughter of a factory worker, and a woman who knows that her mother got leukemia because of all of the toxic fumes that she inhaled for over 25 years on her job so she could continue to feed her family.

The right to safety is at the heart of this movement. Because tied up in all of it is economic inequity. It's where bosses get to believe that their right to profit is somehow greater than our right to live. And we as a movement cannot stand for that. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

MICKEY HARRINGTON, Butte and Glenn Counties (Calif.) AFL-CIO Central Labor Council: I'm the president of the Butte and Glenn Counties Central Labor Council and a 53-year member of IBEW 1245.

I just want to make a point that our international was formed because there were so many accidents. We have improved, but still it's dangerous out there, and we have to keep an eye out and protect each other, and that's something that we do every day. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

Before I call the question for adoption of Resolution 13, I'd just like to make one observation.

Many of us have been personally affected by occupational diseases, injuries and actually deaths. In my family, nearly all the males have died from black lung or pneumoconiosis. And I offer you this little way of understanding how bad the disease is. If you want to know what someone who has black lung, white lung, brown lung, yellow lung, asbestosis, silicosis or pneumoconiosis goes through every day, here's all you have to do. You tape your mouth shut, tape one of your nostrils shut and run up and down a flight of stairs 10 times and then try breathing. And that's how they breathe every minute of every day. And that doesn't have to be in a country that knows how to eliminate these diseases.

Our brothers and sisters have eliminated black lung in Australia. Haven't had a new case of black lung in over 10 years because they decided to do it. Our country can do the same. Our country must do the same to protect those workers. So that the next time we come together in convention, more of our brothers and sisters aren't totally disabled from those diseases or, worse yet, have expired because of those diseases.

Now, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 13. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no.

Resolution 13 is adopted. Thank you, brothers and sisters. *(Applause)*

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 13

Safe Jobs—Every Worker's Right

THE RIGHT TO A SAFE JOB is a fundamental worker right. All workers—coal miners, construction workers, health care workers and garment workers, whether they live in the United States, Bangladesh or China—should be able to go to work and return home safely at the end of the day. But in too many workplaces around the world, employers' push for production and profits and disregard for workers' safety puts workers' lives in danger.

This past April, we witnessed the worst garment factory disaster in history—the horrifying collapse of the Rana Plaza in Bangladesh, which housed five factories making garments for U.S. and European retailers. Cracks in the building had been discovered, due to illegal and shoddy construction, making it unsafe. But workers were told to return to work or lose their month's pay. Soon after, the building collapsed, killing 1,129 workers, mostly women, and injuring hundreds more. Just months earlier, 112 Bangladeshi workers were killed in a fire trapped behind locked doors at the Tazreen garment factory, another producer for global retail chains.

And here in the United States, the same kind of push for production and lack of safety protections costs workers' lives. In 2010, 29 coal miners died in an explosion

at the Massey Energy's Upper Big Branch mine in West Virginia, a company with a history of serious mine violations and deaths. A few weeks later, an explosion at the BP Gulf Coast oil well killed 12 workers and caused one of the worst environmental disasters in U.S. history. This past April, 15 people died in an explosion at a West, Texas, fertilizer plant that processed and stored highly dangerous chemicals. The plant was small and not covered by many chemical safety regulations and had never been inspected by OSHA. And in June, 19 firefighters died in a massive wildfire in Arizona when they were trapped behind the fire line when the wind shifted; with no way to escape. This was the worst firefighter tragedy since the collapse of the World Trade Center in the September 11, 2001, attacks.

Those are the stories that made the news, but every day, workers in the United States and around the world are injured, killed, maimed or sickened while simply trying to earn a living. Most workplace deaths and injuries are not the result of catastrophes; they occur one by one. These deaths are just as much of a tragedy to these workers and their families. The overall toll of these workplace deaths, injuries and diseases is enormous. Globally, according to the ILO, each year, 2.0 million workers die from injuries and 321,000 workers die from occupational diseases. In the United States, in 2011, 4,693 workers died from workplace injuries and more than 3.8 million workers were injured. Another 50,000 U.S. workers are estimated to die annually from occupational diseases.

In this country, the union movement's decades-long efforts have improved working conditions and made jobs safer and healthier and strengthened workers' rights. We've won safety laws and safeguards that have reduced exposures to workplace hazards like asbestos, lead and benzene and saved workers' lives. Since the passage of the landmark Occupational Safety and Health Act and Mine Safety and Act, the job fatality rate has been cut by more than 80%.

Eight years of neglect and hostility under the Bush administration brought progress in protecting workers to a halt, but under the Obama administration we have once again moved forward. Strong, committed advocates have been appointed to lead the job safety agencies. Both OSHA and MSHA have stepped up enforcement, particularly for employers who have a history of serious and repeated violations. The agencies have increased focus on protecting workers' rights with enhanced whistleblower protection programs and policies to protect workers who report job hazards or job injuries from retaliation. And education and outreach, particularly for vulnerable workers, has been expanded to help workers exercise their legal rights.

But progress on needed new protections has been dismal. The 2010 election of a Republican majority in the House of Representatives brought a renewed anti-regulatory fervor, with business groups and Republicans launching a major assault on regulations and the regulatory system. In the face of this attack, the development of many important safety and health rules stalled, with the White House Office of Management and Budget (OMB), which is responsible for reviewing draft rules,

blocking needed protections. The most egregious case has been the delay in OSHA's silica rule, which has been held by OMB for 2½ years. Shamefully, at the end of its first term, the Obama administration record on issuing major final OSHA rules was even worse than the miserable record of the Bush administration.

The same anti-regulatory push has been seen globally, with employers and some governments seeking to roll back and block protections and to reduce oversight, claiming that safety and health regulations are excessive, unnecessary and costing jobs. They are also attempting to use international trade agreements as a means to challenge and undermine proposed and existing safeguards in individual countries.

Workers need more safety and health protection, not less.

In too many countries, safety and health laws are nonexistent, weak or ignored. There is no meaningful government oversight and enforcement and workers have no right to organize and bargain collectively.

Here in the United States, the OSH Act and workplace standards, particularly those for toxic chemicals, are out of date. Millions of workers, including many state and local public employees, have no OSHA coverage, major hazards remain unregulated and unacknowledged and enforcement tools are too weak. Regulation does not keep pace to effectively respond to imminent and emerging hazards such as pandemic influenza and nanotechnology, the manipulation of particles on an atomic scale, which holds great promise in medical and other applications, but may pose great risks to exposed workers.

More than a decade after OSHA's ergonomics standard was repealed, there has been no progress to protect workers from musculoskeletal disorders, which account for more than one-third of all workplace injuries. On the contrary, the Department of Agriculture has proposed poultry inspection rules that would cut back government poultry inspections and allow line speeds to increase, putting poultry workers at greater risk of injuries and threatening food safety. The AFL-CIO strongly opposes this wrongheaded harmful proposal and has joined with unions, consumer groups and other allies to stop the final adoption of this rule.

Our system of safety and health protections remains fragmented and underfunded. The Obama administration has proposed to cut funding for the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), the federal job safety research agency, eliminating all funding to train new safety and health professionals. The Chemical Safety Board (CSB), also underfunded, has failed to issue findings on many major chemical disasters and recommendations on how future disasters can be prevented. And the Department of Energy's (DOE) modest efforts at self-regulation and oversight to protect workers at the DOE weapons plants are under attack by contractors and some members in Congress.

Changes in the workforce, work, technology and the economy have brought even greater challenges. Many groups of workers, including immigrant workers, are at much greater risk of injury and death, working in some of the most dangerous jobs and vulnerable because of immigration status and lack of union representation. A growing number of workers in the public and private sector confront the hazards of working in a deteriorating infrastructure—poorly maintained systems and buildings—that increase their risk of injury.

Workers across all sectors face increased risks due to downsizing, short staffing and increased work demands. Growing violence in society is impacting workers, with workplace violence a major threat for teachers, health care workers, social service workers, prison guards and other security personnel. The growth in contracted and temporary work arrangements has fragmented employment and responsibility, making it more difficult to protect workers and hold employers accountable. Globalization has created additional pressures and greater dangers, with employers looking to cut costs, increase production, reduce wages and benefits and avoid any new requirements.

Addressing these challenges has become much more difficult as employers' ideological opposition to worker rights and government action has intensified and corporate political power has grown.

We must move forward. But we can't win these fights on our own.

The union movement must join with allies—safety and health activists and advocates, family members, worker centers, public interest organizations—to seek stronger safety and health protections and rights for all workers. Together we will:

Strengthen the OSHA and MSHA laws to cover all workers and all work arrangements, toughen enforcement and provide stronger worker rights and anti-retaliation protections, seeking improvements both federally and at the state level.

Continue to push the Obama administration to issue needed rules on silica, coal dust, combustible dust, infectious diseases and other hazards, taking legal action when necessary to protect workers' safety on the job.

Continue to challenge employer policies and practices that discourage or retaliate against workers for reporting injuries or hazards and shift blame and responsibility to workers, and instead push employers to reduce exposures to workplace hazards.

Oppose the industry assault on regulations and corporate legislative efforts to dismantle our system of regulatory safeguards that protect our health, safety and environment and financial security.

Educate workers and union members about job hazards and safety and health rights, and support efforts to organize and take action to improve working conditions.

Fight efforts to use international trade agreements to lower safety and health standards and protections, and instead seek to use these agreements and their enforcement as means to raise standards and improve working conditions for all workers.

And we must and will stop corporations' endless worldwide drive for cheaper production, lower wages and resulting exploitation of workers. With the global trade union movement and our partners, we will seek strong laws that protect workers' safety and health and workers' rights no matter in which country they live or work. We will hold global corporations responsible for their actions and production on their behalf and demand binding enforceable industry agreements that provide workers fair wages, safe working conditions and the right to organize.

(End Resolution No. 13)

TRUMKA: Now it's my honor and privilege to introduce a special guest. Now, Tom Perez may be new to his position as our secretary of labor. But in many ways, he spent his whole life on the job helping working people and fighting for civil rights.

Tom and I have spent some time together in person and on the phone since his nomination in March. And when the Republicans started gearing up their attack machine for him, I let Tom know that the labor movement had his back, and I think it worked. We all know Republicans were attacking Tom because of what he stands for—that's vigorous enforcement of the law, standing up for fairness and standing up for opportunity for all.

Tom has shown time and time again—not recently, but his entire life—that he is on the side of working families.

In Maryland he pushed a law to crack down on employers who cheat their workers by misclassifying them as independent contractors.

At the Department of Justice, he stood in the way of states like Florida and Texas when they tried to adopt voter suppression laws. And that's why the Republicans went after him. And that's also why he will be a great, great secretary of labor.

Tom grew up in Buffalo. He knows the value and the dignity of work. He shares our values. He never backs down from a fight when he knows he's right.

Please join me in welcoming our secretary of labor, Tom Perez. *(Applause)*

THE HONORABLE TOM PEREZ U.S. Secretary of Labor

Hey, how are you? Good morning. Hard to follow Cecil Roberts. Thanks, a lot, Rich. Appreciate that.

It is truly an honor to be here with you. Good morning. It's just a remarkable place to be. I've seen so many friends. It's been old-home day here at the convention. So, Rich, thank you for your very, very gracious introduction and your strong support and your tireless leadership. Your relentless efforts on so many fronts have made an enormous difference in the lives of so many people who are trying to climb the ladder of opportunity.

Arlene, I can't believe this is—I missed your tribute yesterday. I remember the first time she came in to see me, it was to talk about voting rights, because she was

seeing what was happening around the country, and on behalf of labor she wanted to express her concerns. So thank you so much. You've always been in the trenches. You've worked in the finest tradition of Bayard Rustin and A. Philip Randolph and so many others. So thank you so much. *(Applause)*

To Liz Shuler and everyone else in this room, thank you for the energy you bring to the struggle to advance the interests of the middle class and working families. Thank you to everyone, by the way, starting with Mr. Trumka, for all of your efforts to restore a fully functioning NLRB. It's about time. *(Applause)*

Ten years. Took 10 years to get a fully staffed NLRB, better late than never, and it would not have happened without your leadership and the leadership of so many people in this room.

You know, President Obama, you heard from him yesterday, and he is very, very sorry that he can't be here with you today. I know you understand that he needs to be in Washington to focus on the situation in Syria and to prepare to address the nation. I'm very glad that you were able to hear from him by video, and in person a few days ago from Valerie Jarrett, who has certainly been a wonderful friend and strong ally in our efforts to build an opportunity society.

I'll tell you, one of the main reasons I feel so excited to be here is because, you know, I feel at home. You know, I grew up in Buffalo, as Rich said. I'm around so many people.

The Maryland crowd here somewhere? *(Applause)*

Yeah, I've been in a few foxholes with these folks from Maryland. Good morning, Patrick. How are you, sir? Oh, and we have our AFSCME folks right in front of me. *(Cheers and applause)*

It's great to see all of you. You know, when you're around people with whom you share values, that's what it's all about.

Those values that you've taught me, those values I've learned, have really informed everything I've done in my career, and they will inform my work as the U.S. secretary of labor.

Like so many of you and others in the movement, I'm the child of immigrants. My parents came here from the Dominican Republic, and they taught me and my four siblings to work hard, aim high and always make sure that the ladder is down for others.

I am so pleased, Rich, that you have so many international partners here at this conference, because the struggle for labor rights, you know, is a global struggle. So I'm so happy to see so many of you here.

You know, those of you who are from Buffalo, New York, or similar cities, you know Buffalo is a gritty town. I'm still a Buffalo Bills fan, and I'm proud to tell you that. There isn't a phony person in Buffalo, New York. Bless you.

Bless all of you, by the way. I should just start out by doing that. It's really a place—and the reason I loved growing up there—is it exemplifies the values that we all care about: hard work, fair play, commitment to family and community and the values that we instill in all of our children. It's also a union town. You know, my dad was a veteran.

Let me note for a moment and say thank you to the union movement for all you're doing for veterans, Helmets to Hardhats, Sean McGarvey, so many others,

who played a leadership role in making sure our veterans have pathways to opportunity and upward mobility.

My dad was a vet. Every time we help a vet, I think of my dad and I think of my uncles, who served this nation with distinction in the military. He served with pride in the U.S. Army.

My parents had to flee the Dominican Republic because of the brutal dictator. After my dad served, he moved to Buffalo, New York, because the weather there was very similar to the weather in the Dominican Republic. (*Laughter*)

So it was just a seamless transition to Buffalo, New York. He worked there, and he worked there until 1974, when, unfortunately, when I was 12 years old, that's when my father passed away suddenly. You know, it wasn't our best year, to state the obvious; kind of a kick in the butt. But you know what? One thing I learned is that Buffalo is indeed the city of good neighbors.

I had a village of family members who helped me. I had a village of friends and neighbors who helped me. Every time there was a father/son breakfast in high school, I had five fathers who were offering to take me there. So I felt like a million dollars, even though money was a little bit tight. One of my best friend's fathers became kind of a surrogate dad to me. He had, roughly, a 9th, 10th grade education. But you know what? There's a distinction between knowledge and wisdom some ways. He was the wisest person I ever knew, and he taught me so much.

He was a Teamster. He was a union man. He taught me the value of hard work. He taught me the dignity of hard work. When their families fell on hard times, what I observed through him was the power of the union movement to help them during that very, very critical time of need.

As a result of all the help that I was able to get, I was able to get Pell grants, was able to get other assistance to get through college. I learned to work hard. I worked in a number of different places. I worked at Sears, I had three paper routes, I worked on the back of a trash truck, and I was proud to do all of that work, and I was proud to know and learn the dignity of work and how important it was.

I chose a career in public service after school because my parents taught me that to whom much is given, much is expected. I feel like a charmed man because I always challenge my students, when I used to teach in law school, I want you to love every day of your job. I want you to love every job you've had. I feel like I can look you in the eye and say I have loved every job I've ever had.

I've had the opportunity to work in local government, work in state government, work in the federal government. At every stop, I have been passionate in my pursuit of basic fairness and opportunity for everyone.

I've had incredible mentors throughout the way, including, but not limited to, the late great Senator Ted Kennedy, one of the most tireless champions for working families and organized labor ever in the history of this United States. (*Applause*)

I will tell you what I learned from Senator Kennedy, I learned many things from Senator Kennedy, but one thing I learned from Senator Kennedy, one thing I learned from my surrogate father, one thing I learned from growing up in Buffalo, New York, is that the labor movement is one of the greatest forces for middle-class economic security in the history of this country.

President Obama's vision of an economy that grows from the middle out can only be achieved if we continue to have a dynamic and empowered labor movement in America.

You know, Senator Kennedy taught me something else very related to this, which is that we can only have strong unions when we protect the right of collective bargaining, plain and simple.

A right that you know well and good has come under withering attack in recent years.

You know, when I was on the Montgomery County Council, serving in local government, I learned an important lesson about the lengths to which some folks will go to thwart unions. There was an organizing campaign going on, it was led by CWA. They were attempting to organize Comcast workers. They came to me when I was on the council—hey, good morning CWA; how y'all doing—and they came to me, and they asked, "Would you write a letter to Comcast asking them to stay neutral to allow the vote to occur, not to put their thumb on the scales of justice." I said, "Of course, I will."

I wrote that letter. The response I got from Comcast was a subpoena in connection with some actions they took, firing a—firing one of the workers who was involved in the organizing campaign.

You know what? When I got that subpoena, what I did I do? I called The Washington Post. They wrote about it. I then got a call from Comcast withdrawing the subpoena and apologizing. I think they may have even invited me to a game over at the Comcast Center. I turned that one down. (*Applause*)

But you know what? I wrote that letter because I truly believe in the power of workers organizing for a greater good. I truly believe, as Senator Kennedy and others taught me, that the direct relationship between the health of the middle class and the health of the labor movement is not speculation. It is indeed historical fact.

When the highest proportion of workers chose union representation, wages and productivity rose together. Middle-class workers shared in the prosperity of their employers, but as union density declined, so did the growth in wages, even as productivity and corporate profits continued to rise.

A coincidence? No. I can give you a two-word answer to that, but I'll stick to a one-word answer to that, because we know from history that strong unions reduce inequality and build the middle class.

You know, at the same time, though, I think it's important to note that the president's support and my support for a strong labor movement, this isn't some exercise in nostalgia or desire for the glory days; this is about what we need today.

We are not going to restore the middle class if workers fear for their jobs if they organize. If they face harassment and delays that make their legal rights a hollow promise. Workers' rights to join together and form a union improve lives, and that remains an essential part of a thriving middle class, and together we must defend that right and you have my word that I will do our best to defend that right in the Department of Labor. (*Applause*)

You know that vision has to include people who are working in the public sector, which has been such an important steppingstone to the middle class for so many

people in this room and across America.

I am so grateful for all the work that our school teachers and firefighters and police officers and others do on the front lines. I'm so appreciative of that. But here's a statistic from this recovery. This is the first economic recovery in American history in which government jobs haven't come back. The government jobs that have been lost have been primarily teachers, paraeducators, police officers and firefighters. Those are the jobs that have been lost.

If state and local government had simply held steady, and if the Congress had adopted the American Jobs Act, provisions that would have enabled teachers to keep class sizes low, and do all those other important public safety considerations in police and fire, we'd have an unemployment rate that would be well below seven. That's fact. That's an absolutely fact.

So I want to say thank you to all of our public-sector employees in this room and across America for the fantastic work that you do on behalf of our children and our communities. *(Applause)*

You know, a couple of weeks ago many of us in this room and across America had an opportunity to participate in the activities commemorating the 50th anniversary of the March on Washington, and one of the most compelling aspects of that march was to remember how much of that march was about economic justice as well as civil rights. That march, for me, was a culmination of my life's work because, you know, I'm a student of the civil rights movement, student of the labor movement. But when you hear about those field generals, like Bayard Rustin and A. Philip Randolph and so many other heavyweights, and you see those generals and what they did, and you see people like John Lewis and the sacrifice they made, it inspires me and motivates me to continue that unfinished business of America.

I'll tell you, what I loved about what the president said was that he reminded us that it wasn't simply a march for civil rights, it was a march for both jobs and justice. He spoke eloquently about the unfinished business of that struggle. As he put it, and I quote, "It's along this second dimension of economic opportunity, the chance through honest toil for people of all races and backgrounds to advance one station in life, where the goals of 50 years ago have fallen most short."

So who's going to make up that ground where we've fallen short? Who's going to play a key role as we confront the challenges of income inequality, secure a better bargain for the middle class, ensure that our workplaces are safe, building our ladders of opportunity with sturdy rungs that all people can reach? Everybody in this room will play a role in that, and workers across America will play a role this that.

Friends, I am here to tell you, in no uncertain terms, that the Department of Labor can, must, does and will continue to play an active role in securing a better bargain for the middle class. *(Standing ovation)*

What do we do at the Department of Labor? You know, when you get down to brass tacks, the Department of Labor is the department of opportunity. As we emerge from the worst recession of our lifetime, I will make it our top priority to expand opportunity in so many different ways. We will expand opportunity by making sure that every worker has the skills to compete for today's and tomorrow's jobs, and that every employer has access to the workforce that will enable it to grow

The Labor Department is the quarterback of our workforce system with a lot of teammates in the huddle. I've worked with many people in this room, my friend Fred Mason from Maryland, Andrew, where's Andrew, who flew out here, flew back to Maryland yesterday, Andrew Larson, to attend a skills summit, and came back out here. So many people who have played the lead role.

One of the best examples of partnership has been in the apprenticeship programs, where the building trades have leveraged \$750 million a year in private-sector money to provide state-of-the-art training that helps so many people find good work.

We must expand opportunity, and we will expand opportunity by enforcing laws designed to ensure a level playing field for workers. We're cracking down on Davis-Bacon violators so that construction workers and contractors can receive the local prevailing wage instead of being undercut and undermined.

Nationally, we're doing four times as much work in the Davis-Bacon context now as we were in 2008. We're debarring egregious violators who don't play by the rules. *(Applause)*

We can, will, have and will continue to be a credible deterrent in this area. We expand opportunity when we combat the unfair illegal practice of misclassifying employers as independent contractors.

You know, when I was in Maryland we worked on this issue, and we worked together with responsible employers. We worked together with workers. We worked together with all the key stakeholders who wanted a level playing field.

When I first heard the description of the word "misclassification," I must confess, Patrick, and you may remember this, I didn't like that word. Misclassification sounds like a paperwork error. You know, you put it in this drawer instead of that drawer.

Let's talk about what misclassification is. It's fraud. It's cheating. *(Applause)*

That's what it is. That's exactly what it is. It's cheating that has three victims, the worker, him or herself who doesn't get the wages and job benefits that he or she is entitled to, the employer who's playing by the rules.

I spoke to a restaurateur, I remember, in Maryland, who paid his workers the right wage. He paid all their workers' comp benefits, all of their UI benefits. But down the road, the restaurant was paying everybody under the table. That's not fair to employers who are playing by the rules, and that leads to a race to the bottom.

Finally, there's a third victim. It's Uncle Sam; it's the tax collector who does not get access to those UI taxes and other workers' comp taxes. That's why this issue is so important and that is why we will continue to work so hard in this area.

Expanding opportunity also means ensuring a level playing field for workers and employers in every industry through fair and aggressive enforcement of our wage and hour laws.

Last year alone we recovered over \$280 million in back wages, \$280 million, the largest amount recovered in the history of the department. We will continue to make use of all of the tools in our arsenal, including, but not limited to, liquidated damages in cases involving egregious violations. We will be a credible deterrent, I guarantee you. *(Applause)*

And we will not hesitate to create opportunity by using our regulatory authority

to ensure that workers—including, but not limited to home health workers—have the full protections of wage and hour and overtime laws. *(Standing ovation)*

We're also working on the issue of health security, making sure that people have access to affordable health care. This is an important fall, as you know, for the Affordable Care Act. I want to thank you on behalf of the president for all that you have done to ensure that every American can get access to the coverage they need at prices they can afford.

I'm well aware that challenges remain, and those challenges continue, and although those challenges remain—as should be expected when we're resolving and working through a challenge as big as this—we remain committed to continuing to work with all of you in good faith, to hear your concerns and identify workable solutions. Thank you for bringing everything that you have brought to our attention, and I continue to look forward to working with all of you.

Now, I heard some very, very compelling stories, and I heard Rich Trumka talk earlier today about the most recent incident involving a fatality in St. Paul. Some of the most compelling work that we do to expand opportunity is the work we do to make sure our workplaces are safe, and that is the centerpiece of our opportunity agenda.

I remember, Rich, the first time I met you, talking about your father, talking about the industry that your father worked in. You talked with such pride. You know what? There's not a person working in this country that should have to choose between his or her job and his or her health. That is a false choice that we should never have to make. *(Standing ovation)*

I want to thank the Steelworkers because, you know, I've had some remarkable meetings in my brief tenure on the job, and there are many that are in my memory banks. But I've got to tell you, there was one meeting that still is in my head with great frequency, and that's when I met Alan White.

It's in my head for a number of reasons. Number One, he's a native of Buffalo, he lives in Buffalo. Number Two, he's just about my age; I'm a couple years older than him. He's a member of Local 593 in Buffalo of the Steelworkers. He has kids, just like I do. He has hopes and dreams for his kids, just like I do. But he has silicosis.

And I asked him, "How far can you walk?"

"Well, if I walk a half a mile I got to sleep 13 hours." That's what he told me. I remember it vividly. 48 years old.

You know, if you get on our website, you will see language and a video of a woman named Frances Perkins, the gold standard of labor secretaries. *(Applause)*

In 1930, Secretary Perkins convened a conference on silica. In 1930, she warned of the dangers of silica. The National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health recommended 40 years later—so that would be 1970—that we take action. The issue has been studied and studied and studied, and Alan's fear is that, in his case, the issue will be studied quite literally to death. I don't want that to happen.

That's why I'm so proud that recently we issued the notice of proposed rule-making and we're taking those issues and we issued that rule—the proposed rule—on silica that would limit silica exposure and ultimately—and this is what it's all about—if fully implemented, would save lives and make our workplace safer.

In the coming months we'll be hearing from a wide array of stakeholders, and we've already heard from a wide array of stakeholders, and that's what we want to do. We always want to listen and learn from everybody who has concerns to raise and a perspective to bring.

And you know what? I've spoken to a lot of responsible employers who categorically reject the false choice between job growth and job safety. They recognize that the most important asset is their human capital, their workers, that nobody should have to choose between their health and their job. And they recognize that when employers cut corners, it not only is penny-wise pound-foolish, but it can have fatal consequences. There was no economic development going on in the aftermath of UBB when that explosion occurred. There was a catastrophe, and that's what we need to avoid.

That is why you see us in the silica context, that's why you see in the coal dust context tangible progress being made. Because as we move forward on job safety, we will continue to reject those false choices. We will continue to work to implement solutions that promote job growth and promote and ensure job safety because that is how it should be. That's the right thing to do in the United States of America. *(Applause)*

You know, I've seen so many wonderful partnerships across this country and, as we move forward talking about false choices, another false choice we should put in the scrapheap is this false choice that you can only satisfy either your shareholders or your workers. I think that is a false choice. We do not need to grow this economy under the business model of low-wage workers with no benefits. That's why this president and I strongly support an increase in the minimum wage. *(Applause)*

It's long since overdue. We've seen and I've seen—I went out to Nevada. I went to the culinary academy. I saw workers, employees being trained, business and labor coming together around a remarkably robust partnership that enabled people who are sweeping floors or people who are cleaning rooms, people who are porters in the service industry, in Las Vegas, to make a living wage, to make a decent wage with health benefits, and employers and large businesses, smaller businesses, alike, to have a return on investment for their employees. We do not have to choose one or the other. We can have both. We are committed to working our level best to raising the minimum wage because here's what it's all about. *(Applause)*

Nobody who works a 40-hour week should have to live in poverty. That is the bottom line. *(Applause)*

I keep reading these alleged studies that it will drain job growth. Study after study has debunked that myth. Let's put that myth in the scrapheap for good. You know what? Here's why it's a myth. Because when a minimum wage worker sees his or her wages increase, you know, they're not stashing it in some overseas bank account, they're spending it. When they spend it, then other businesses grow because they are having their products brought.

You know, there was a guy named Henry Ford who actually understood this in 1914. When he raised the wages of auto workers, you know, people were wondering, "What are you doing?"

And he said, "People need to be able to afford to buy my cars. And when you

have worker prosperity, you have economic prosperity.” And you know what? He was right. So we’re going to keep moving forward. There are so many other businesses today who recognize that, and I applaud their efforts because that’s what we need to do.

I want to take a moment if I could, Rich, to thank the many nonprofits who are in this room who have been guests of the AFL-CIO in this conference because you have done so much to give voice to the needs of low-wage workers in the taxi industry, restaurants, domestic, home health and other industries with high concentrations of low-wage workers.

Because I had a great privilege of working not only with the labor movement in local, state and now the federal government, but I also had the privilege of working on the board and being the director of the board of an organization called CASA Maryland. CASA is very much like the organizations I met with yesterday. *(Applause)*

It started out as a shoestring immigrant assistance organization in the basement of a church. Today it’s a multimillion-dollar advocacy organization that doesn’t simply provide fish but teaches people how to fish.

CASA partnered very, very carefully and closely with labor unions and labor leaders on many worker rights issues, and we learned so much from each other. So many of the union leaders help us to understand how best to organize. What we did at CASA, and what so many nonprofits in the labor movement do today, is we all define success, not simply in terms of the number of people with union cards, but the number of people that we’re helping move up the economic ladder.

As we work together with our nonprofit brothers and sisters and our union brothers and sisters, we will grow the movement and we will grow the middle class as well. That’s what so much of this partnership is about.

I also want to commend you for inviting international partners into the labor rights movement here today, because I’ve had a chance to meet a number of them as well. Creating opportunity in an increasingly global economy means ensuring that workers have basic rights overseas. When they suffer and die from dangerous working conditions, when they are harassed or fired or even killed for organizing, that affects American workers, too. I’m so proud of the work that we’re doing at the Labor Department to help build capacity of governments to enforce their laws and of unions to represent their members. It’s why we encourage supply chain initiatives with real participation for workers and real accountability for companies. It’s why we work for strong labor protections in our free trade agreements. These policies help all workers everywhere enjoy that basic dignity at work, and they create more demand for goods made here in the United States. So I am so proud of the work that they are doing there.

Now, folks, it’s time to move on. We’ve got a lot of work to do. We had a jobs report last Friday. First Friday of the month I spend a lot of time talking about the jobs report. We’ve had 42 months consecutive of private-sector job growth. Some 7.5 million jobs have been created. I’ll tell you, the auto industry is coming back big time thanks to many people in this room and thanks to an investment that the president made. He believed in you, and you returned that belief with a vengeance, and I want to thank you for your work there. *(Applause)*

But make no mistake about it, there's so much more we need to do. So, we need to pick up the pace of this recovery, we need to fight harder to create a better bargain for the middle class, and that's precisely what the president is doing. Every day, day in and day out, that is our focus, helping to up-skill people, helping to make sure that through the laws we enforce we create access to opportunity. Rewarding those innovative partnerships between labor and management that are helping to grow the middle class. We have so much more we can do.

Rich, I want to thank you for your partnership in the immigration context, because the labor movement has recognized that immigration reform is indeed a reality. It is indeed an economic imperative, a moral imperative, a national security imperative. Your partnership with business in this area has been so critically important.

You know, I mentioned that my dad died when I was a kid, and I remember that was a bad year. It was a bad year for Richard Nixon, 1974, bad year for Tom Perez and family in 1974, for different reasons to state the obvious.

But let me tell you a little story about my mom, because it really animates how I think of this. If you had taken a survey of my family January 1, 1974, and said, "One of your parents is going to die," there would have been unanimity in our family that it was going to be my mother. Because she had chronic problems with her health, she had to go to New York City to have some major surgery in February or March that year, and she continued to have chronic problems. Shortly after my dad died unexpectedly, my mom went back into the hospital.

What sustained her during that challenging summer and during the months and years ahead was her faith. Every night I'd go to bed. "Good night, Mom. See you tomorrow."

There's a saying in Spanish. She said it every night. "*Si Dios quiere*." "See you tomorrow." What "*si Dios quiere*" means is "if it's God's will." She had a great faith that animated her and helped all of us during difficult times.

But as I grew older and older, I must confess, that I started to take issue with what I used to call the "*si Dios quiere*" mentality, because as I worked professionally doing civil rights work and doing labor rights work, I grew to conclude that it's not possibly God's will that people working a 40-hour week should live in poverty. It's not possibly God's will that people showing up in the coal mine were not going to get to see their children graduate, not get to their grandchildren's wedding. It was impossible to me that it was God's will that women are making 77 cents on the dollar. It was impossible to me that it's God's will that 11 million people are living in the shadows, immigrants, who should be in the sunshine with the passage of comprehensive immigration reform. It was impossible to me that we just simply had to expect and accept the fate of Alan White and so many others suffering from illness as a result of unsafe workplaces.

So you know what? I don't think it's God's will. All of these challenges that I've described are human made, and they will be fixed by humans. They will be fixed by Americans, people in this room, people in this presidential suite, people across America who will come together. Because I know that God told me that we are our brother's keeper, we are our sister's keeper. The labor movement is our brother's

keeper, the labor movement is our sister's keeper. As we work together, we will build a better America. As we work together, we will bring the middle class to thrive again. As we work together, we will make sure that everybody has the ladder of opportunity to climb. We will make sure that those rungs between the ladder are short; that you can climb them. That no matter who you are, no matter where you came from, no matter who you love, you can make it here in America.

That's why I'm optimistic about America because I've seen it work. I've seen your stick-to-it-iveness, I've seen your spirit, and I know this president. He's here for you. We may not always agree on everything, but we always talk it through, we always resolve it, because our values are the same, and our values are about growing the middle class, growing a better America, and we'll do it together, so help me God. Thank you. *(Standing ovation)*

TRUMKA: One more time for Secretary of Labor Tom Perez. *(Standing ovation)*

We've come a long way with the secretary of labor. Used to be they couldn't say the U, U, U word.

Before we do anything else, Cecil was gracious enough to mention Peg Seminario, who heads our Safety and Health Department, who has spent a career fighting for the rights of workers on the job to protect their health and safety. I just wanted to present her to you so we could say thank you for all that she's done. *(Applause)*

Time for some action sessions and a little bit of lunch. But first I'll ask Secretary-Treasurer Shuler to let us know about some important announcements and the list of action sessions for today. Liz.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SECRETARY-TREASURER ELIZABETH H. SHULER: Talk about a buzz kill. Sorry about that.

First, the baseball game this evening—I'm sorry to say there aren't any more tickets available and more people would like to go. If you aren't planning on using your tickets tonight, please turn them in to the convention registration desk.

Second, Rich mentioned the action sessions. The action sessions yesterday were a real highlight. Hopefully everybody attended some of them.

There was high attendance and there was a high level of engagement. So in case you need a little added incentive to spend your lunch hour today strategizing about next steps for the labor movement, you can attend and win prizes. Yesterday we randomly selected some winners, and I'm about to announce them.

So if you were at an action session yesterday, pay close attention, I might be calling your name. You can pick up your prize after I call your name by the entrance to the plenary space where the artist is working.

Yesterday's winners are—drum roll, please—Steven Van Slooten, Becky Turner. *(Applause)*

OK, some excitement here. Michael Frenna, Patty Rose, Bernard Lunzer and Mike Gallagher. Congratulations. And you, too, can win tomorrow if you attend the action session today.

We have a great lineup. Remember, the most up-to-date listing is at aflcio2013.org. I'm about to run through all the action sessions, so hang in there with me.

"Alt-Labor: Building Union-Worker Center Partnerships," in Room 408B.

"Bangladesh Fire and Safety Accord: A New Standard in Global Framework Agreements," in Room 405.

"Fighting for Health Care in the Age of the Affordable Care Act," Room 408A.

"Global Approaches to Building Worker Power," in Room 306A and B.

"How the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a Supersized NAFTA, Will Impact You as a Worker and What You Can Do About It!," in Room 404B.

"Lessons in Women's Leadership: 'Leaning In' the Labor Way," in 301B.

"Link up with China's Workers Around Common Issues in the Global Economy," in Room 406B.

"Mass Incarceration and the Labor Movement," in Room 406A.

"Organize the South: Why the South Matters to the Future of Labor," in Room 308A and B.

"Organizing Workers and Immigration Reform: A Strategy Session," in Room 403A.

"Power Through Diversity: Strategize With Constituency Groups for a More Inclusive Labor Movement," on the Solidarity Stage 2.

"Show It, Don't Say It! Ten Ways to Change How People See Unions." I'll see you there in Room 402A.

"The Labor Movement's Campaign to Raise Wages," in Room 403B.

"This is NOT What Democracy Looks Like: The Democracy Initiative," in Room 402B.

"Twitter 101: Getting Started," at the Boots Online Digital Strategies Booth in the Plaza area outside the hall.

And "Workers' Voice: An Independent Movement to Elect Progressives," in Room 404A.

Whew, OK, the convention is now recessed until 2:30 p.m. Please be here right at 2:30 p.m., because we have a lot of work to do this afternoon.

Thank you, and we'll see you then.

(At 12:03 p.m., the convention was recessed, to reconvene at 2:30 p.m.)

THIRD DAY

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 2013



AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2:32 p.m., President Trumka presiding.

PRESIDENT RICHARD L. TRUMKA: The convention will now come to order. Please take your seats. Thank you.

I hope everybody here took advantage of the fantastic program of action sessions that just concluded, and I hope you plan to attend another one tomorrow.

This afternoon we will take up three resolutions from the Resolutions Committee on foreign policy issues. The Committee on Shared Prosperity and the Global Economy will return to lead our discussion about global organizing and the new approach that we need to trade and globalization. Then we will nominate officers of the AFL-CIO.

But before we start our discussion on immigration workers and organizing, I'd like to present to you DREAMer Hareth Andrade-Ayala.

I hope she is coming on up here. Hareth worked in Washington this summer as a part of Dream Summer, part of our Union Summer program. Hareth is going to share a poem with you that she wrote.

HARETH ANDRADE-AYALA DREAMer

How's everybody doing?

We can do better than that. How we doing?

Good. So, before I begin, I want to share a little bit. Actually I was supposed to do my poem before President Obama spoke with the hopes that I may ask him to stop my father's deportation. But then I realized after hearing the artist who inspired us with the cutouts saying actions speak louder than words, and looking at the tables, together we are stronger. So I said, "Together we are stronger."

So I'm going to ask, if you want to tell President Obama to stop my dad's deportation, please stand up. (*Standing ovation*)

"America, we need to talk.

Don't be afraid and stand because we believe this is the year.

The year that the dreams of my parents will be realized and the dreams of millions who came across borders unimaginable to reach the land of opportunities.

A story comes to mind of a little girl's dream to become a spokesperson, and she did not mean to take anything let alone make a scene.

She was just trying to fit in.

Yet by age 15 treated like she was a sin, illegal.

Placed in a category, a shelf, a cell incarcerated in the word, sentenced without conviction, alone she would crumble, yet the dream kept her humble and she built a suit of armor to join the fight.

Empowered by the liberation, we the people must build the suit.

Let's go on and tell them while they will have the power to sit, separating us as they see fit.

But my father's hands blister from work all day he didn't feel like he has a say.

As this nation dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal rises with 11 million dreams, America, we are liberated by the pain.

So let's talk.

Because America's home, a land of dreams, for all dreamers."

Thank you. (*Standing ovation*)

TRUMKA: If you want to see a copy of that poem, there's a framed copy in my office that I look at every day.

I want to thank you, Hareth, for not only sharing that and beginning the discussion with the reminder of that story. The story of immigrants in America is really not a story about numbers, it's about people.

To lead our discussion of Resolution 4 on immigration reform and immigrant worker organizing, which subsumes proposed Resolutions 23 and 31, we'll hear from María Elena, vice chair of the Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action.

María. (*Applause*)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE 1: THE COMMITTEE ON GROWTH, INNOVATION AND POLITICAL ACTION (*Resumed*)

RESOLUTION NO. 4

Assisting Immigrant Workers to Become Citizens and Exercise Their Workplace Rights

VICE PRESIDENT MARÍA ELENA DURAZO, Los Angeles County (Calif.) Federation of Labor: Good afternoon. Sisters and brothers. Every day more than 11 million aspiring citizens contribute to our communities, our economy and our country, but they are still denied fundamental rights. The immigration system is broken and it is breaking the lives of innocent, hardworking people all around us.

Let us look at a video of what I'm talking about.

...The video titled "Butterflies" was shown to the delegation.

DURAZO: Sisters and brothers, a strong democracy cannot function this way—with the ability to fully participate and exercise rights limited by skin color or by your immigrant status. The way we treat aspiring citizens reflects the values that define what it means to be Americans.

We have fought long and hard for a road map to citizenship for those whose aspirations—and, frankly, our demand for their labor—bring them to these shores. We fought hard to adopt that principle in the Senate. But House Republicans are

saying “No.” They want to chop the bill up until the sum of its pieces is the status quo—or even worse.

We know working people cannot be strong when any group of workers is exploited—and our movement is strongest when it is open to all workers. *(Applause)*

Immigration reform is key to our organizing program. Let me give you an idea about a way to connect immigration reform with organizing. This May, the LA Federation of Labor launched the immigrant organizing project. We hired a group of young organizers, many of them DREAMers, who had been undocumented themselves, to reach out to nonunion members across Los Angeles and get them to sign up and get active on immigration reform. For many of them, it is their very first experience with the labor movement.

Let me introduce a few of them to you: Teresa Contreras, Fernando Hernandez, Sergio Dominguez, Marlene Montanez, Jaquelinee Luna. *(Applause)*

And let's hear three of their stories.

JAQUELINEE LUNA

DREAMer

Hello. My name is Jaquelinee Luna. I've been signing up Ironworkers right in front of this building. My team goes out at 5 in the morning and we talk to workers. Often they rush past us to get to work on time. But one morning a worker told us that we should come back during their lunch. We weren't sure they would all come out, but they all did. They talked about immigration reform. What they talked to us about the most was the working conditions. Every single one of them signed a card for immigration reform. And I hope that one day they can all be part of the Ironworkers union. *(Applause)*

FERNANDO HERNANDEZ

DREAMer

Hello, everybody. My name is Fernando Hernandez. I've been signing up carwash workers. One day we went out to a carwash and I approached a carwasher to sign a card for immigration reform. He didn't want to talk to us at all. But once he started talking, he wouldn't stop. In fact, he even missed his bus.

He was from Yucatan, Mexico, and has been working at the carwash for 35 years. He told us how the managers regularly steal wages from his paycheck, and that his co-workers wanted to speak up but were afraid of being fired.

He was just waiting for someone to hear his story. And I know that when the Steelworkers organize his carwash, I will be proud that the first conversation he had with an organizer was with me. *(Applause)*

TERESA CONTRERAS

DREAMer

Hello. My name Teresa Contreras and I'm a proud DREAMer. There are many stories I could tell, yet there has been one housekeeper that has stood out from the rest. When I talked to her, I saw a lot of fear in her eyes, and in many ways she reminded me of my own mother.

She worked at a hotel in downtown LA, very close to here, for more than 15 years. And when we talked about the immigration reform, she felt that there was simply no more hope for her. The hotel managers had brainwashed her and mistreated her so bad that she felt helpless and, most importantly, she felt insignificant.

When we talked about my story as a DREAMer and how I myself had worked at a factory under the table, her eyes came to life. There was no more fear. She was willing to take action. And most importantly, perhaps soon she'll be able to be a member of UNITE HERE. Thank you. *(Applause)*

DURAZO: Sisters and brothers, because of these great activists, this project has been a huge success. Just imagine what would happen if we had an army of these young people organizing immigrant workers all across the country? *(Applause)*

Resolution 4 calls for recruiting and training this kind of an army, an army that will reach out to call center workers with CWA, Larry; to manufacturing workers for the UAW and Machinists and Steelworkers—to the building and construction workers, to home care workers, with AFSCME and others.

Immigration reform is also key to our political program, that we have seen and proven here in California and in other parts of the country.

In key states the AFL-CIO will mount citizenship, voter registration and get out the vote efforts that will change the political environment for the benefit of all of us, for the benefit of all working people.

The way that AFT plans to do to take back the state of Texas. *(Applause)*

Finally, let me say that the resolution also calls for the AFL-CIO, for our unions, state federations and local labor councils to partner with our allies, open up our union halls, provide support to immigrant workers, from workers' rights training to processing the applications for citizenship.

The labor movement will do what the Irish immigrants did in the last century. They led and joined with Italians and Jews and other immigrants. And remember Tammany Hall. The Irish and others who were treated subhuman, but they turned it all around and they used their power, their new political power to create good, middle-class jobs, and to get access to those jobs.

Sisters and brothers, this is a campaign that we can win. It's a campaign that we must win. Now, already there are some pundits who are saying forget about it. They are trying to tell us that other things are suddenly more important. Well, they are wrong. No excuses, no excuses.

We say and we demand a vote now. Pass immigration reform with a path to citizenship with workplace organizing rights right now.

Sisters and brothers, we need you to step up. We need the resources. We need you to march on October 5th. This is our moment. No more waiting. No more putting us under the pile. We have to fulfill our mission as a labor movement.

So, sisters and brothers, on behalf of the Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action, I move adoption of Resolution 4. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 4 be adopted. Is there discussion? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

GEORGE GALIS, International Union of Painters and Allied Trades: Mr. Chairman, I serve as the general secretary-treasurer of the International Union of Painters and Allied Trades. I'm the son of an undocumented worker who was deported and believed so in the American dream that he returned and persisted until he finally achieved his dream of citizenship.

During that time, he had to work every day in fear that he would be deported again. As an organizer from my union, I've spoken to many immigrant workers who wanted to join the union for decent wages, a safe workplace, health insurance, pension, for training, for dignity, but they feared working on the books, they feared standing up, because they were threatened by their employer. This flawed system must be reformed. We must stop the corporate plan to create a workforce that can be exploited without recourse.

For my father, for the millions who are being denied fairness in the workplace due to their immigration status, I support and urge passage of this resolution. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother George. Delegate at mike 2.

VICE PRESIDENT LAURA REYES, AFSCME: Sisters and brothers, I am secretary-treasurer of the Great Green Mighty Machine, AFSCME.

(Addresses the delegation in Spanish.)

I stand here and rise in support of Resolution 4. Why does a union primarily composed of public employees care so much about immigration reform? There are hundreds of reasons, sisters and brothers. Thousands of us are first-generation Americans working in public services of every kind. Thousands of us work providing public services to immigrants in schools, in public safety and in health care. Thousands more work in public services that are threatened by privatization.

When we look under the rocks, sometimes we discover that the privatizers are bidding low because they are exploiting a workforce of undocumented workers. Then there are the big-picture motivations. There has never been a fight for justice and equal rights that hasn't engaged us, and this one, sisters and brothers, is no different.

If we win a path to citizenship for the millions who seek it, one day they will be voters, too. *(Applause)*

Voters. Voters who can change the politics of Texas, Arizona, Georgia and North Carolina. *(Cheers and applause)*

So that in those states one day it will be open to legalizing collective bargaining for their public workers.

There's one more reason. All of us here come from immigrants. However our ancestors got here, whether on a slave ship in shackles, on a steamship in steerage, or in a modern airplane, or even if they walked over a land bridge from Asia to North America, we are all connected to the immigrants who built this country and who founded our unions, just as we are connected to the 11 million neighbors who want a chance at the American dream.

Together—together, sisters and brothers—we can pass immigration reform with them and for them. I encourage you, too, to rise up in solidarity and support Resolution 4. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

GUILLERMO PEREZ, United Steelworkers: I'm a proud member of the United Steelworkers. *(Cheers and applause)*

I rise in support of this resolution. I should also say I'm a member of the executive board of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, the national board. I sit as a representative of the Steelworkers.

LCLAA, those of us who are active in LCLAA, have been engaged in the struggle for immigration reform for a long time. I just want to personally thank President Trumka for the leadership role he's played in fighting this battle.

Historically, our movement has not always been pro-immigrant. This is a change that I know was not easy, but it was the right thing, and this is a righteous fight. The federation put resources and energy into this struggle like nothing—it was extraordinary.

So we had a breakthrough, we had a bill in the Senate, comprehensive immigration reform with the path to citizenship. As I said before, this was the right thing to do. This speaks to our values as a labor movement. We all know that workers are workers whether immigrant, native born, whether they have papers or not. They are workers and they need to be part of our movement.

So this is the right thing to do, but it's also the smart thing to do. The future of our economy will depend on immigration; for a dynamic-growing, job-creating economy, we need immigrants. We all benefit by the work that immigrants do, both documented and undocumented.

But unfortunately, we also suffer spiritually by the rampant exploitation and abuse that so many immigrant workers, and especially undocumented workers, suffer. The solution, of course, is not to attack the worker, the solution is to organize the worker.

So the fight is still before us and the work that the federation has done on this is extraordinary. And my union, the Steelworkers, we organized a May Day march that brought out 700 union members and allies to the streets of Pittsburgh. I'm pretty sure the last time they had an immigrant rights march was in the 19th century.

So we're updating the immigrant struggle in Pittsburgh. We're doing it with the leadership of the AFL. We would just ask this: Let's remember that the bill will still leave out millions of undocumented. We have to struggle and continue to fight for something that really reaches millions more. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. *(Applause)* Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

TERRENCE MELVIN, AFSCME: Brother Chairman, I serve as the secretary-treasurer of the New York State federation of labor. I also serve as the president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. I am a proud 33-year member of the Green Machine, AFSCME. *(Cheers and applause)*

I stand before you this day in support of Resolution 4 to remind all of us that we are all immigrants, except the native Americans. We all came on different boats, but God knows we're all in the same boat now.

The founding documents of this country say that we hold these truths to be

self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they're are endowed by our Creator with certain inalienable rights, and among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

I tell you, I come from New York State and we have the Statue of Liberty, which says give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses, yearning to breathe free.

Immigrant workers ought to be able to breathe free. To breathe free means to be free from oppression and free from depression. Free to come out of the shadows and to be full members of our society. Not in 15 or 20 years, but now. Free to be citizens of this great country that we live in. Free to join and form unions. Free to not be oppressed by these employers that would just take away their rights, that are using them to just make profits. Free to get a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. Free. Free not to be exploited by anyone.

Let us stand together as the United States labor movement and ensure that 11 million people can breathe free. Let us pass this resolution and not just pass it, but when we leave here, let us make this resolution a reality. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Melvin. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

YVETTE HERRERA, Communications Workers of America: Good afternoon. I'm a proud CWA member and an immigrant. I want to thank María Elena Durazo for leading us in our stand for a moral immigration reform with a path to citizenship. María Elena is an authentic and relentless voice for our movement who has the respect and trust of the Latino community and the immigration partners and allies.

I also wish to thank Rich Trumka and the AFL-CIO for making passage of CIR a priority.

....Delegate Herrera addressed the delegation in Spanish.

I came to this country when I was 4 years old. My parents, like so many immigrants who have been given the opportunity to become citizens, became citizens the minute they were eligible—the minute—and I have greatly benefited from that, and my daughter is a first-generation American.

There was no prouder American than my father, who passed away this July. I, like so many, have been inspired by the DREAMers, by the courage these young people have shown—risking everything, their freedom, deportation, never seeing their family again—to bring about justice.

These 18-, 19- and 20-year-olds are standing up and declaring, "I am the face of the undocumented, and I am not afraid." *(Applause)*

There are two things I know to be true. First, the undocumented are just like me. They are just like us. They are workers, they are not CEOs, they are not bankers, they are not wealthy. They are workers, mothers, fathers, daughters and sons.

Second, we have the same enemies. Those who would have us work long hours under inhumane conditions for low pay with no rights, no benefits, no security or voice, are the same enemies that we have.

Getting CIR with a path for citizenship is going to be a tough fight, but we will take our lead from the courage of the DREAMers and demand with them unafraid justice for the undocumented because we know that—

....Delegate Herrera addressed the delegation in Spanish.

—only together can we move forward. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 23.

LIZ McELROY, Philadelphia Council of the AFL-CIO: Thank you, Mr. Chair. Good afternoon. I'm the secretary-treasurer of the Philadelphia AFL-CIO. I'm also a proud member of the American Federation of Teachers.

I rise today to support Resolution 4 with all of my heart, and I use that sentence deliberately, because I'm not sure I would have put it quite that way just a month ago. It's not because a month ago I didn't believe that immigration reform was needed or the right thing to do, or that I didn't believe that the right to organize for all workers wasn't a vital, fundamental right.

But in earlier August I had the chance to travel to North Carolina and visit Camp Solidarity with the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, and there I met with tobacco workers. There I met a man about my age, he was in his thirties, who hadn't seen his mom in 16 years because he can't go home. He said he doesn't even call home often anymore because all she does is cry.

I also saw the living conditions of workers in some of the fields, the tobacco fields and the farm fields, many of whom are undocumented, although not all of them. There were six cots to a small room. Group showers, toilets without dividers between them, as if to drive home the point that they lacked full rights as citizens.

What these workers might lack in rights, brothers and sisters, they more than make up for in voice. We heard from the DREAMers and we know that immigrant workers are raising their voices in organizing all over this country.

It's our responsibility in this labor movement, I believe, to help them amplify that voice, and passing Resolution 4 will do that. I'm standing before you in my "Proud to Be Union" T-shirt, and I am every day of my life. But I will be even more proud when this body soundly passes Resolution 4.

Thank you for the opportunity. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister Liz. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

VICE PRESIDENT JOSEPH T. HANSEN, United Food and Commercial Workers Union: Thank you, President Trumka. I am the proud president of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union. (*Applause*)

This issue is not only an important issue for all of us in this room, this is an important issue for our country. It's a simple fairness issue. It's a fairness issue for working families that just want to have a better life.

Immigrants come to America, they want democracy, they want the ability to earn a living, to raise their children, to live out a decent life. They come into jobs, agriculture, domestics, and tens of thousands of them come into the meatpacking and poultry industries in our union.

I'm proud of the UFCW history on this issue; it's been an issue for us for decades. I'm particularly proud that 12 years ago the discussion on immigration and the

AFL-CIO's policy started in this city. I am really, really proud about the fact that I, Terry O'Sullivan, John Wilhelm and a few others authored the resolution that the council passed that changed the direction of the AFL-CIO regarding immigrant workers. That was a proud moment for this federation.

We supported and we participated in the Freedom Rides that took place all across the country that María Elena did such a wonderful job on. And in 2006, thousands of our members were incarcerated in their work places in the Swift plants by our government in an unconstitutional raid by the ICE people.

We responded. We formed a commission. We held hearings. Many of you participated around the country. Secretary Vilsack was one of our leaders in that. We sued the government, we sued the president.

So, very briefly, it is our issue but it is an issue for all of us. What immigrants want and what they give up should be dear to all of us. I've talked to many of them. They gave up lives as teachers, lawyers, professionals, tradesmen and women to come into this country, to start at the bottom just so they could have an opportunity.

The journey they made was often dangerous; sometimes they don't make it. They don't live to get here to get the dream. They come from all over the world, not just from Mexico and Central America. If there is a war someplace or there is a repressive government someplace, people come to America because of what we stand for. We are the promised land, and all they want is what our parents and grandparents and ancestors wanted—an opportunity.

So, brothers and sisters, now is the time to pass comprehensive immigration reform. Not next year. The time is now.

I support this resolution, my union supports this resolution. But what we do after we support this resolution is more important. We have to continue our work in the community, we have to continue our work in Congress, and we have to remind our leaders that we will remember in 2014 whether they supported a fairness issue, a democracy issue, an issue for working families in this country.

So, brothers and sisters, it's not over today, it will not be over tomorrow, but we will get comprehensive immigration reform, and the labor movement will be the path to the path for citizenship for all these deserving people. Thank you.
(Applause)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Joe. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

MARIA NEIRA, AFT: President Trumka, I'm a delegate and vice president of AFT and vice president of the New York State United Teachers.

I get up today to support the resolution in front of us. I'm not going to repeat what has been said because I do believe that the DREAMer's poem this afternoon captured the voice of everyone in our communities. It is time to fix the immigration system now. It is also time to remind Congress, as it returns from its summer vacation, that we demand common sense in this reform.

Most of the 11 million undocumented immigrants have lived in America for more than 10 years. They are our neighbors, they make up our communities, they make up our faith-based organizations. They are our friends and our family members.

I will just share with you, as an educator, I can tell you many of my students, our DREAMers, who do, not from their own fault, go through our school system and do everything they are requested to do and are not able to pursue the American dream of a higher education.

I invite you, brothers and sisters, to allow me as an educator to be able to deliver the promise that I make to my students that if they do well, follow the rules, they will succeed. Let's bring our 11 million undocumented workers out of the shadows. It is integral for the prosperity of all workers. I urge this body to support the revolution—it is a revolution, actually (*Applause*)—this resolution. And let our *hermanas y hermanos* know that the labor movement believes and, “*¡Sí, se puede!*” (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The chair calls on the delegate at mike 3.

TRAVERN LEYSHON, Green Mountain (Vt.) Labor Council: I'm secretary-treasurer of the Vermont AFL-CIO. And, yes, Sister, this is a democratic revolution. Yes, this is a human rights revolution.

So I rise in support of Resolution No. 4 and subsumed Resolution No. 23. I'm so proud that we're taking on these hard issues.

We in the Vermont AFL-CIO, we're working with our strategic partners at Vermont Migrant Justice. We're working with the Vermont Workers Center to fight for a fair and comprehensive immigration reform that meets human rights standards. And I want to share with you some of the organizing on the ground and the victories that we've begun to win. And I say only begun to win because we know this is going to be a long road.

When we put Vermont on the road to universal health care, we defeated the attempt to divide us by excluding undocumented workers. We said, “Universal means universal,” and we won. (*Applause*)

We organized and won the right to drivers' licenses for undocumented workers. (*Applause*)

We fought against the implementation of the anti-immigrant SCOM, the so-called safe community laws, and it's essentially null and void in the boundaries of Vermont. (*Applause*)

We have a moral obligation and an obligation to our brothers and sisters and to ourselves to stop the mass deportations that are going on at a record rate now that violate human dignity and divide families.

We should be organizing for a humane road map, not contingent on some repugnant border security measures.

And we've got to ensure that any reform, any real reform guarantees full labor and workplace rights for all workers.

Finally—and we know this—we need to reverse the root causes of forced migration, trade policies that say to our brothers and sisters, start at home or come here. (*Applause*)

We know this isn't going to be won just in this Congress, it's going to take the kind of mass mobilization that takes the labor movement to play a leading role along with our brothers and sisters who have proven, who have proven with their

mass mobilizations, that they're willing to put themselves on the line. We can win this, we will win this. I thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The rules of the convention state that we will have a maximum of 30 minutes debate on every resolution. We have about three minutes left on this debate time. The chair calls on the delegate at mike 1.

VICE PRESIDENT D. TAYLOR, UNITE HERE: I'm lucky. I'm the last one, then, I guess.

I don't have any script. I want to thank Rich for his leadership on this and María Elena Durazo so much, but that's not why I'm up here.

We're going to support this resolution unanimously. That's not the question, in my opinion. The question is what are we going to do in the next two months to push the House to pass comprehensive immigration reform? That's what we have to do.

(Applause)

I think we've got to challenge ourselves. For the last few days we have said we have to involve ourselves with the community to push for social and economic justice. There is no better example of social and economic justice than passing this bill and getting people out of the shadows.

So I propose, President Trumka, in February you challenge the Executive Committee to have every union to give money to help the AFL-CIO to run a campaign to pass comprehensive immigration reform. We're halfway there. Halfway there. We need to go after about 25 or 30 of these House Republicans with a paid political ground game so they pay the price for what they have said before. We have got to do that in order to win. We're going to hold the Democrats accountable. Let's get these Republicans off the fence. Let's pass comprehensive immigration reform and change this country. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair calls on the delegate at mike 3 for a minute and 22 seconds.

JOSIE CAMACHO, Alameda (Calif.) Labor Council: I'm secretary-treasurer of the Alameda Labor Council, proud first VP of the APALA and also a proud member of CWA 39521.

So I just wanted to echo what the brother from UNITE HERE just said. We are only at the beginning of the threshold of a breakthrough for the working class in this country. The faces and the demographics of working people have changed. That's why the Republicans started listening to the fact that numbers count. When the votes happen, they saw that APIs, Latinos and all other immigrants voted in high percentages for President Obama. That's why they lost.

We're at a juncture now where we cannot have our people subjected to the terrorism of E-Verify, of being stopped at the borders, of increasing border patrols for every thousand feet. I mean, that's next to ridiculous, the amount of money that is going from our taxpayers' monies, including the funds that the working people, the undocumented, have to pay into to hang themselves.

So I just want to say in conclusion: Are we ready to fight? Are we ready to fight?

DELEGATION: “Yes.”

CAMACHO: Are we ready to make sure that DREAMers actually have a future? Are we ready to make sure that working men and women, cab drivers, taxi drivers, domestic workers, home care workers, all of our undocumented brothers and sisters that have stood in the shadows far too long, have a pathway to citizenship, have a human dignity right to be able to take care of themselves and their families. And if you agree with me, I want you to stand up right now and I want you to shout, “*¡Sí, se puede! ¡Sí, se puede! ¡Sí, se puede! ¡Sí, se puede!*”

DELEGATION: “*¡Sí, se puede!*”

CAMACHO: Is my time up, President Trumka?

TRUMKA: Thank you.

The question is on the adoption of Resolution 4. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Oh, we can do better than that.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. No?

All those opposed, say no. None.

Resolution 4 is adopted. Thank you. (*Applause*)

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

RESOLUTION NO. 4

Assisting Immigrant Workers to Become Citizens and Exercise Their Workplace Rights

EVERY DAY, more than 11 million aspiring citizens contribute to our communities, our economy and our country—yet they are effectively not covered by our fundamental labor law and are denied essential rights in our society.

A strong and vibrant democracy cannot function unless all men and women living and working within its borders, regardless of their skin color or their place of birth, can participate meaningfully in the political process with full rights and equal protections.

The union movement recognizes that the way we treat aspiring citizens reflects our commitment to democracy and the values that define us.

Working people are strongest when no group of workers is exploited, and the union movement is strongest when it is open to all workers regardless of where they were born.

Comprehensive immigration reform will contribute to shared prosperity and will help improve productivity and quality; limit wage competition; strengthen labor standards, especially the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively; and provide social safety nets and high-quality, lifelong education and training for workers and their families. To achieve this goal, immigration reform must fully protect U.S. workers, reduce the exploitation of immigrant workers and reduce employers' incentive to hire undocumented workers rather than U.S. workers. The most effective way to do that is for all workers—immigrant and native-born—to have full and complete access to the protection of labor, health and safety and other laws. This approach will ensure that immigration does not depress wages and working conditions or encourage marginal low-wage industries that depend heavily on substandard wages, benefits and working conditions.

The labor movement remains unified in support of a framework for immigration reform developed with the assistance of former Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall, which has five major interconnected pieces: (1) An independent governmental body to assess and manage future flows, based on labor market shortages that are determined on the basis of actual need; (2) A secure and effective worker authorization mechanism; (3) Rational operational control of the border; (4) A road map to citizenship for the current undocumented population; and (5) Improvement, not expansion, of temporary worker programs, limited to temporary or seasonal, not permanent, jobs. America's unions remain committed to working together on the side of justice for all, along with our community partners and civil rights, human rights, immigrant rights and faith-based organizations, to pass fundamental immigration reform that encompasses these principles and strengthens our democracy.

The federation, its state, area and local bodies and its affiliates are working and will continue to work side by side with immigrant workers, their families, our allies and community partners to pass comprehensive immigration reform consistent with that framework and to implement its provisions. We will continue to play a leading role in the movement for reform that is backed by the majority of the public. Our strategy shall take into consideration the labor markets in which these aspiring citizens are likely to be employed and the needs of workers in those labor markets, as well as the social and educational needs of aspiring citizens and their families, including affordable health care. We will identify new opportunities for aspiring citizens to participate in the political process in partnership with unions and to exercise their workplace rights.

Specifically, the AFL-CIO will promote organizing of immigrant workers who seek to have union representation at their workplace. Through the Organizing Institute, the AFL-CIO will work with affiliate unions to recruit and train organizers from the immigrant community and organizers with the necessary language skills to assist workers in communities with many monolingual workers. The AFL-CIO will coordinate its training and outreach initiatives with affiliates, focusing on areas and industries in which affiliates are actively organizing.

Further, the AFL-CIO will partner with allies to provide citizenship and workers' rights instruction and general assistance with processing applications for work authorization and naturalization. The AFL-CIO will open up its state federation and central labor council halls and urge affiliate unions and their locals to open their halls for citizenship and workers' rights classes in partnership with allies or, where appropriate, as a labor movement initiative. The AFL-CIO will work with Union Privilege to assist with outreach to the immigrant community and engage in other experimental initiatives, including providing low-interest loans for application and processing fees. Finally, the AFL-CIO will identify key states and mount citizenship, voter registration and get-out-the-vote efforts that will change the political environment for labor and enhance workers' ability to organize.

(End Resolution No. 4)

TRUMKA: Now I'd quickly like to turn back to Leo Gerard for a report on Resolution 12. Leo.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE 2: THE COMMITTEE ON SHARED PROSPERITY IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY (Resumed)

RESOLUTION NO. 12

America and the World Need a New Approach to Trade and Globalization

VICE PRESIDENT LEO W. GERARD, USW: Before we begin, we're a little crunched for time, let me share a video with you. Play the video, please.

...The video presentation, "What is the Impact?," was shown to the delegation.

GERARD: Brothers and sisters, U.S. trade negotiations over the past 25 years have created a global economic system governed by multinational corporations. With no counterbalance or check on growing corporate power, the wages of American workers have been suppressed, our living standards have been lowered, our air, water and fundamental labor rights have been threatened.

The three major trade agreements currently being negotiated are the Trans-Pacific Partnership, the Transatlantic Trade & Investment Partnership and the Trade in International Services Agreement. We call on U.S. workers to stand together with our international brothers and sisters to force our governments to choose a path, and a much different path.

We know that we cannot create this different path without our partnerships with key labor movements from around the world. From the fight over NAFTA to the current fight over TPP, our partnership with the Canadian Labour Congress has proven to be key in that fight. We face many of the same attacks as our brothers and sisters to the north, and by working together we can build a broader movement for more than just pro-worker trade policies.

Ken Georgetti, my friend, became president of the Canadian Labour Congress in 1999, after a quarter-century of union activism in British Columbia. He first went to work in the giant smelter of Cominco in British Columbia, and became an active

member of the United Steelworkers American Local 480. He rose through the ranks to become president of that local in 1981.

He is a key partner to the U.S. labor movement, and joins us today in the struggle against TPP.

Please welcome my friend, my brother, eh, Ken Georgetti, eh.

KEN GEORGETTI

President, Canadian Labour Congress

Thank you so much, Brother Gerard, president of my union.

Let me just say that workers throughout the world are facing coordinated attacks that are designed to implement a low-wage and a profit strategy driven by global enterprises and implemented by their friends in government. This strategy, my friends, pits worker against worker, enabling a race to the bottom of social equity issues.

Through relocation strategies these multinationals continue to push for lower wages and labor standards, as well as an end of collective representation and collective bargaining. They do this to enhance their investments and increase their profit margins. They also want less regulations and fewer trade barriers.

Today, these multinationals are hell-bent on manipulating the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a free trade agreement bigger than the North American Free Trade Agreement, so as to secure a hold over the entire global economy. If they get their way, everything from your rights at work to the price of your prescriptions to the safety of your child's toys will be severely influenced.

It will be easier to relocate your jobs overseas, disregard clean air and water regulations, and carve out special corporate privileges that ignore health and safety regulations.

You know, government trade representatives are being vigorously lobbied daily by these multinationals. Before the TPP is finalized at the end of this year, my friends, they also need to hear from workers and their families.

We up in Canada at the CLC are asking our Canadian government to include a strong labor chapter in this Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement that would protect core labor rights, such as collective bargaining, and give it teeth by including the power to suspend trade benefits to multinationals in countries that don't comply. *(Applause)*

National governments should have the right to protect vital services and resources for the public good, we argue, and no corporation, not one, should have the right to sue a country for protecting the interest of its citizens.

We stand—*(Applause)* Thank you. We stand with you and workers around the world to get trade deals that actually help raise the bar for all workers, not force a race to the bottom. Because we all know, sisters and brothers, that when working people stand together, our society always ends up a better place for all of us. Thank you. *(Applause)*

GERARD: As we talk about our need to have allies across the world, I feel really honored and humbled to be able to ask the next speaker to come up. She's been

a friend for a long time. As you heard the other day, when she was here at the Diversity Conference, she's the first woman to lead the ITUC as general secretary.

I would like to ask Sharan Burrow to come up and say a few words. Sharan. *(Applause)*

SHARAN BURROW

General Secretary, International Trade Union Confederation

Rich, delegates, let me bring you greetings from your family, 175 million workers around the world, the biggest democratic force on Earth, the family of working people. *(Applause)*

This convention's been inspiring: the messages, organizing, building workers' power, reaching out, taking control of who is in our movement, not letting others do that. They are critical.

I'm sorry, Leo, Larry, those of our global organizing partners, that I can't be with you for the global organizing debate tomorrow morning. But let me say TPP is one of those challenges.

If we don't aggregate our organizing capacity around the world, these trade agreements will simply drive more and more of the impoverished global supply chain model that is exploiting workers everywhere.

So it's a very good example. I can tell you there are 2.9 billion workers in the global economy, give or take one or two or three; 60% of them are in the formal sector. But guess what? More than 50% of those don't have any secure contract of employment, or they're in some vulnerable or precarious work.

Then we have 40% of our brothers and sisters, you saw some of them this week—the domestic workers, the day laborers—in the informal sector, who actually don't have any rules; the sector of desperation. Well, TPP and other corporate agendas will simply drive more informal work, more attacks on workers' rights, less security, less wage justice, less safety; all of the things you've guaranteed to stand up and fight for.

I'm very proud, Richard, that the AFL-CIO is one of the members of the global family, a member we can always depend on.

Larry, I have a special message for you. We have a commitment to actually driving T-Mobile into union-land. I've seen the fear, with Larry in Charleston firsthand, of the terrible bullying of workers. When young women say to me that leaving a call center in T-Mobile and joining a unionized call center is equivalent to leaving an abusive relationship, we don't stand and rest until that company, every company, driven global solidarity, is organized in union-land.

TPP, global organizing, we can do it. You can do it, you're doing it right here in America, and with you, we'll do it globally. Solidarity.

Richard, you're going to get re-elected. *(Applause)*

GERARD: Richard just got the support of the Australia Trade Union, so he may make it a squeaker today, but we'll make it. *(Laughter)*

Sisters and brothers, we call for a people-centered trade policy. One that will create shared gains for workers whose labor creates society's wealth while protecting the environment and the freedom to regulate in the public interest.

The trade policy that levels the playing field is one that is flexible, responsible and negotiated openly, not in secret, but negotiated democratically. It sets the rules for fair compensation, addresses the currency manipulation that affects global markets and depresses wages, and allows nations to stimulate their economies through domestic infrastructure and spending programs.

The fair trade policy we call for in Resolution 12 will also protect the rights of government to choose the scope and level of public services and to secure the integrity and stability of their financial systems. It will also protect intellectual property in a fair and balanced manner, and protect the unique U.S. transportation regulatory and legal structure.

To create this new model of trade policy, we need to educate our members and all workers about the effects of our trade policies, and show that an alternative that leads to higher standards of living is not only possible but needed. But we also go beyond education and organization, and we must go to mobilization.

We will work with our partners in the international labor movement to shape trade policies that meet a pro-worker agenda, that ensures that U.S. policies make U.S. producers and their employees more competitive in the global marketplace.

We will hold countries accountable to protect labor rights, demand transparency and inclusiveness in creating U.S. international economic policies, and organize our members and community allies to demand that trade creates shared prosperity, prosperity in trade agreements currently under negotiation and any future trade agenda.

We will fight any trade agreement that fails to prioritize the needs of working families and advance shared prosperity, and we will hold our elective representatives accountable for their trade policies in action.

On behalf of the Committee on Shared Prosperity, I strongly recommend adoption of Resolution 12, but again, remind you of the numbers I talked about this morning. I can put another number out there for you: the Steelworkers claim 850,000 members. Had we not had these rotten trade policies, we'd have over 1.2 million active workers.

Now, those jobs were lost to rotten trade policies. Those jobs were family-supporting jobs. Those jobs had pensions. Those jobs had health care. Those jobs had health and safety rights. We need to stop the exodus of our jobs to rotten trade policy. We need to stand up and fight back for fair trade.

Richard, on behalf of the committee, I so move.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 12 be adopted. Is there discussion? Start at mike 2, the delegate at mike 2, please.

JAMES CONIGLIARO, Machinists: Thank you. I'm from the International Association of Machinist and Aerospace Workers.

I rise to support Resolution 12. From the battle over the WTO in Seattle to our FTA fight in Miami, the IAM continues to demand 21st century trade agreements that put working families first, not multimillionaires, CEOs and their corporations who have no loyalty to the men and women who built them and made them so rich.

We know all too well that NAFTA and trade agreements that followed with countries like South Korea and Colombia have cost our members and the members of North American unions billions and billions of jobs. We know that secret trade agreements that have been negotiated in secret make it easier for corporations to ship our jobs overseas, giving international corporations the power to challenge our domestic laws.

We know that despite our efforts, these trade agreements pay only lip service to our labor rights.

How else could trade agreements be signed with Colombia, a country where 2 million trade unionists have been murdered, and thousands more have been beaten and tortured?

Resolution 12 repeats our demand for a new kind of trade agreement, a kind of trade agreement that is clearly based on fundamental human rights, like the rights to form a union and engage in collective bargaining.

Resolution 12 also demands that future trade agreements cannot be negotiated in secret and calls for an end to past Fast Track procedures.

And Resolution 12 also makes it absolutely clear that currently negotiated TPP does not meet any of our demands, and that we as trade union families must come together and fight against it with all of our strength and unity.

TPA/TPP is our last stand. If this agreement is implemented, we can say goodbye to U.S. manufacturing and thousands more jobs in the private sector. We can also say goodbye to hundreds of thousands of jobs in the public sector, since no one will be left to pay any taxes.

The IAM calls on all of our sister and brother affiliates to join us in opposing TPP and all trade agreements that are negotiated for Wall Street and that leave the world's workers out in the cold. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

TIFFANEY LEWIS, USW: I am a third-generation Steelworker from Local 3267 in Pueblo, Colorado. I'm a proud member of our Next Generation Young Workers program, a local union officer and a Mommy of Steel. *(Applause)*

I'm a single Mommy of Steel to two beautiful children—Luke, who is 6, and Jennifer, who is 3. I rise in support of Resolution Number 12 for a lot of reasons, but the most important reasons of all are the two of them, because when we have and enforce fair trade laws, it means good jobs for people like me. It means I can go into Everest Steel Mill every day, along with 1,200 of my sisters and brothers, and earn a decent wage that gives them a decent life.

I am able to allow my children to play soccer and baseball, to do gymnastics and get regular checkups at the doctor. We aren't wealthy, but I don't have to worry about where the next meal will come from or how I'm going to keep the lights on for another month.

It means that my community can support a good school system and provide jobs for my family and my neighbors at the local café, the community hospital, the police and the fire departments and so on. When we make things in our country, we make

a future for our kids and grandkids. When we have fair trade laws, we all do better, not just the corporate elite.

Sometimes we overcomplicate this issue. Sometimes we split hairs over language or get lost in the sea of acronyms when we're talking about trade. NAFTA, TISA, TPP, but it's really not that hard. I rise in support of Resolution Number 12 because the most important acronym to me in the fight for fair trade and jobs is MOMMY. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Delegate at mike 1.

CHRIS HARRINGTON, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers: Brothers and sisters, I'm a delegate of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Resolution Number 12 is a comprehensive statement of everything that is wrong and everything that needs to be fixed in the world of corporate trade, where the unbounded arrogance of capital does its greatest damage.

On Sunday, Senator Elizabeth Warren recounted how she's heard members of the Senate say that trade agreements need to be negotiated in secret, because if the details were made public they would be defeated by an overwhelming popular consensus.

In your keynote address, President Trumka, you said that it's time to put an end to trade deals that treat corporations better than people. A few weeks ago, before we arrived here, my International President Ed Hill, along with IAM President Tom Buffenbarger, wrote an op-ed published in The Hill newspaper that called for an end to secrecy in the negotiations over the Trans-Pacific Partnership.

In that op-ed, they cited the tragic shutdown of the IBEW-represented Phillips lining plant in Sparta, Tennessee, a few years back. Phillips outsourced to Mexico only one year after the plant was named one of the 10 best in the U.S.

It was another of tens of thousands of lethal hits from the lingering residue of the North American Free Trade Agreement, NAFTA. More than 100 other manufacturing plants have shut down in the region surrounding the Phillips plant. In a scene repeated time and time again, brothers and sisters, in cities and towns across the U.S., a stable community is now besieged by joblessness, poverty and meth labs.

Brothers and sisters, nearly every problem and challenge we have discussed during our days here in L.A. is in some way connected to the need to erect a new structure of global fair trade that is so well presented in this resolution.

We have great allies in the Citizens Trade Campaign and other groups that do the research and build the platform for engaging our members and our communities in the fight for fair trade.

Our trade experts at the AFL-CIO are second to none, but few of us in this room truly tap the help we are offered. Too few of us sound the alarm when we have the opportunity to expose the regressive and reactionary corporate agenda that is now playing out in three new trade agreements. We all must do better, and that starts with passing this important resolution.

But then it means going home to act. It means going home to demand trade that creates shared prosperity, not the horror of more joblessness or more youth

incarceration, or more deregulation or more privatization, or more poisoning of our food and our children's toys and the very democracy that we cherish.

That is what is at stake if we fail to win the approach to world trade and globalization that is so well presented in Resolution 12. We urge the adoption.
(Applause)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

TIM BURGA, Ohio AFL-CIO: Mr. Chairman, I am president of the Ohio AFL-CIO, and proud to be a third-generation Steelworker.

On behalf of hundreds of thousands of working families in Ohio that lost their good jobs and have had their lives turned upside down because of unfair trade, I stand in full support of this resolution. For too long, the terms and conditions of globalization have been written, interpreted, executed and enforced by multinational corporations which have destroyed lives, wrecked our local communities and devastated our overall economy.

In Ohio alone, so-called "free trade" as we know it has cost us 350,000 manufacturing jobs, one-third of all manufacturing jobs in the state.

Mr. Chairman, in 2008 I was proud to join my brother and predecessor at the state fed, Joe Rugola, as he walked across and through the state of Ohio from town to town stopping to mark the site where a factory had been closed due to unfair trade.

Now, you see, Mr. Chairman, Joe walked over 300 miles, and I was proud to join him on some of those legs. And when you do that, sisters and brothers, you see up close and personal the devastation to our neighborhoods and the desperation and hopelessness in the faces of those that just want to work and have a chance to realize the American Dream.

With each new so-called "free trade" agreement, NAFTA, CAFTA, PNTR with China, in particular, we lose more good jobs and our national trade deficit continues to spiral out of control.

These flawed trade deals fail to meet the test of ensuring that labor law, human rights, environmental and monetary standards are in place and in force, which simply sets the stage for exploitation of workers here and abroad.

We must unite, Mr. Chairman, to reverse Fast Track authority and reposition our trade process to ensure it is worker-centered. Until this happens, Mr. Chairman, we're simply perpetuating a reward system from multinational corporations in the investor class at the expense of working families, the middle class and our economy.

Mr. Chairman, I urge adoption of this resolution.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The delegate at mike 3.

CAROL LANDRY, USW: Inequality, physical, sexual abuse, violence, stolen youth and a dark, very bleak future. These are all words that can describe what globalization means for so many women and children around the world.

Try to picture a workplace where it's a common experience to be assaulted, to

be raped, to suffer sexual assault, beatings, workplaces where young girls are locked in cramped, dangerous warehouses for a few pennies for each hour they work, sometimes forced to work 16, 18 hours a day.

Worse yet, sisters and brothers, imagine your son or daughter forced to work in such a workplace and you can't do anything about it because you need the few pennies they're going to earn every day. This is the face of globalization for so many working families.

Working with my union on our international programs has given me the opportunity to network with women around the world. I have been able to experience firsthand what globalization means to these women and their families as I visit other countries.

Yesterday and today we talked about what we want for our children and our grandchildren here in the United States. And of course we're going to fight for that.

But sisters and brothers, we have to make sure our fight is also for those other children and the women who are not able to fight for themselves and who don't have a voice. We have to be their voice.

The multinationals who profit from these terrible abuses in other countries are the same corporations who are leading the attack against workers and working families right here in the U.S.

We, the labor movement, are the only thing that stands between our workers and their families and the absolute atrocities happening in other parts of this world. Those corporations would do the same thing to us if it weren't for our labor movement.

Sisters and brothers, we can never step down. We will continue to stand up and fight back for women and children everywhere. And we make this commitment on behalf of my union, United Steelworkers, our Women of Steel, and our next generation. We support this resolution and we commit to be the voice for women and children everywhere.

Thank you, Brother Chair.

TRUMKA: Sister, before you leave the microphone, can you state your name and your affiliation for the record?

LANDRY: I'm sorry. Carol Landry, USW.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister.

LANDRY: Thank you, Brother.

TRUMKA: Delegate at mike 1.

LARRY WILLIS, Transportation Trades Department: Good afternoon. I'm secretary-treasurer of the Transportation Trades Department of the AFL-CIO.

I rise in strong support of Resolution 12. And in particular, I want to highlight the section of the resolution that calls for the protection of our aviation and maritime

interests in any new international trade agreements.

For our aviation sector, we know that foreign interests have long sought to own and control U.S. airlines. And when these foreign airlines and other companies get control, we know what will happen. The jobs of our members—pilots, flight attendants, mechanics and other ground workers—will be outsourced to the lowest bidder. Their goal is simple: to access the lucrative U.S. aviation market but to do so at bargain-basement wages and working conditions, and we cannot allow that to happen.

Already U.S. carriers exploit the global marketplace to outsource 30% of the maintenance work to foreign repair stations. These facilities are not held to the same safety and security standards as our government demands of work done in this country.

We've made a lot of progress in this area, but more must be done. And the last thing we need to do is enter into new trade agreements that will actually enhance outsourcing of aviation jobs. This is not a new idea. The Bush administration tried this in 2005. It was soundly rejected by Congress, and it was done to get a trade agreement. But those who tried that effort are back again in TTIP and other places, and their efforts must be defeated.

On the maritime side, its workers face the same type of threats in TTIP and must be kept out of those talks. The goal of our European trading partners is again clear and transparent, to gut longstanding protections that this industry depends on.

The Jones Act has been a successful part of our nation's national security and economic policy and sustains over 500,000 good-paying jobs and jobs that generate \$100 billion in annual economic output. This law has ensured that the U.S. continues to have a reliable source of domestically built ships and competent American crews to operate them.

The U.S. maritime has played a vital role in supporting our armed forces, delivering food and other aid around the world, and supporting our trade objectives. We should be promoting the growth of the U.S. Merchant Marine, not pursuing changes in our policies through bad trade deals that weaken this vital segment of our transportation. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

LYNNE DODSON, Thurston-Lewis-Mason Counties (Wash.) Labor Council: Thank you, President Trumka. I'm secretary-treasurer of the Washington State Labor Council and a proud member of the American Federation of Teachers Local 1789.

Sisters and brothers, who is negotiating these agreements? Multinational corporations, investors, not us, not workers, not the representatives of workers. Yet workers around the world are impacted. Our work, our environment, our access to medication, our labor rights, our services are not exempt.

We've had 20 years of NAFTA. We see what it's done to the world's workers and to us in the United States: job loss, depressed wages, forced migration.

The TPP is being bargained in secret and it's headed for a fast track in Congress. We could have good trade agreements, but we haven't seen them yet. We must

oppose Fast Track. We must work with workers across the globe. We have to participate in these discussions on trades. We must shape the future of our global economy.

Sometimes these trade issues seem too hard to grasp, too impossible to change. But, sisters and brothers, change them we must. We must stand up and speak out.

Resolution 12 speaks to our values, our issues and exactly the kind of fair trade, fair trade agreements that we need.

I urge your support. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister.

The question is on the adoption of Resolution 12. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no. Resolution 12 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 12

America and the World Need a New Approach to Trade and Globalization

THE UNITED STATES is in talks regarding three new trade and globalization agreements—and more are being developed all the time. Over the past 25 years the United States negotiated trade agreements that both reflected and promoted the rise in corporate power at the expense of working people. It has created a system of global governance—by global corporations—with no counterbalance or check on growing corporate power. These agreements have fueled the profits of companies that have outsourced and offshored, but they have suppressed American workers' wages and their standard of living.

Global enterprises seeking to suppress wages, pollute our air and water and violate our fundamental labor rights must no longer be the architects of trade policy. Instead, trade policies must empower workers to organize and act collectively to ensure their work is safe, secure and fairly paid; that they have adequate access to education, recreation and decent housing; and that their elected representatives work to advance the general welfare rather than substituting corporate interests in their place and hoping for some trickle-down benefits.

Because trade and globalization agreements encompass these important policy issues that go far beyond tariff reductions, we strongly support increased congressional consultation, participation and oversight in trade policy formation and increased public participation and scrutiny both during the negotiation process and after implementation. Twentieth century-style "fast track" trade promotion authority, which we continue to strongly oppose, was undemocratic and wholly inadequate to provide the transparency, accountability and oversight necessary to the task, and was part of the reason working families have been left behind by these agreements.

The trade agreements currently being negotiated are:

TPP (The Trans-Pacific Partnership)

The United States and 11 Pacific Rim nations—Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, Chile, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore and Vietnam—are negotiating the TPP. While at the outset of negotiations, the agreement had great potential to set down rules for people-centered trade, it now seems likely to be yet another in a long string of trade agreements that elevate corporate interests at the expense of working people. It appears unlikely the agreement will rectify the mistakes of past trade policy, particularly in the areas of currency, rules of origin, procurement, deregulation, labor rights, public services, investment, access to medicines, environmental protections or financial services.

TTIP (The Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership)

In 2013, the United States and the European Union began talks on a Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). Increasing trade ties with the EU *could* be beneficial for both American and European workers but, as with all trade agreements, the rules matter. Generally speaking, both regions have advanced economies, high national incomes and well-developed legal and regulatory regimes designed to protect the environment and defend workers' rights. And in many respects, the European nations' social programs to protect families and the environment exceed those of U.S. laws and regulations. Therefore, the TTIP must employ a people-centered approach and not be a tool to promote deregulation and downward harmonization of standards. Nor should the TTIP be a vehicle for lowering U.S. standards for government procurement or public services.

TISA (The Trade in International Services Agreement)

In 2012, the United States began negotiating the Trade in International Services agreement with Australia, Canada, Chile, Chinese Taipei (Taiwan), Colombia, Costa Rica, the European Union, Hong Kong China, Iceland, Israel, Japan, Korea, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Switzerland and Turkey. The agreement's biggest risks are rules that promote privatization of public services and restrict the ability to regulate in the public interest.

In the TPP, the TTIP, the TISA and any other new trade and economic commitments, the United States and its trading partners have the opportunity to deliberately choose a different set of policies, but they will not do so voluntarily. Promoting shared prosperity in the global economy requires the free exercise of labor rights globally and reforms in trade and economic policy to create demand-led, worker-focused growth.

Workers must stand together globally to force our governments to choose a different path.

A people-centered trade policy will:

- **Create shared gains for the workers whose labor creates society's wealth.** Trade agreements must require nations to adopt, maintain and enforce universally recognized labor standards, as set out in the ILO core conventions and their related jurisprudence, so that workers are empowered to act collectively to ensure they can share the gains of trade and raise their own standards of living. The labor provisions must cover all workers regardless of sector or national origin and must be fully and effectively enforceable—using trade sanctions if necessary—in a timely manner. Labor provisions must clearly establish a floor, not a ceiling on labor rights—and these rights must not be open to challenge by investors who wish to avoid obligations to their workers.
- **Strengthen protections for the environment.** Companies must not use trade rules to pit one country's environmental rules against another, as they seek the lowest-cost place to produce. That approach creates a significant threat to the world's ability to address serious environmental threats and to worldwide public health. Environmental provisions must be as strong and enforceable as the commercial commitments.
- **Protect the freedom to regulate in the public interest.** Trade agreements must not be thinly disguised tools to make it easier to increase shareholder profit by poisoning workers, polluting the environment or hiding information from consumers. Working families must be able to keep and expand upon public interest protections—and trade policies must protect, not degrade, these protections.
- **Set rules for fair competition.** Workers of a nation must not be unduly disadvantaged by unfair economic competition resulting from choices about how to organize their economies. Choices about state-owned and state-supported commercial enterprises (collectively, SOEs), value-added taxes, the use of industrial or manufacturing policies, economic development, procurement and social justice policies should be made democratically by the citizens of a nation. However, the rules of international trade and globalization must also allow for mechanisms that level the playing field so that these choices cannot be used as weapons in an effort to achieve growth through a “beggar thy neighbor” approach.
- **Include strong rules of origin so that trade agreements are not merely a conduit to ease the global corporation's race to the bottom.** Weak rules of origin give global companies a free pass to locate production in nations that have not made reciprocal promises as part of a trade agreement to raise standards and abide by agreed rules. Weak rules of origin can decrease, rather than promote, shared prosperity.
- **Not provide extraordinary privileges to foreign investors.** While foreign investment can be beneficial, rules that promote it by offering foreign businesses greater procedural and substantive rights than domestic investors, including the right to bypass state and federal courts, are unjustifiable and destructive. Investor-

to-state dispute settlement procedures must not be included in any future trade agreement. These extreme private property protections jeopardize efforts to create shared prosperity.

- **Effectively address currency manipulation.** Current trade agreements have allowed other countries to engage in strategic currency manipulation that supports their exports and unduly disadvantages U.S. exports. A people-centered trade policy will provide mechanisms to address this abusive practice and ensure a level economic playing field for workers and industries in all countries party to an agreement.
- **Retain the ability for all nations to stimulate their economies through domestic infrastructure and spending programs.** Trade agreements must protect “Buy National” policies. Trade agreements should not constrain federal and sub-federal procurement rules that serve important public policy aims such as local economic development and job creation, environmental protection and social justice—including respect for human and workers’ rights and promotion of disadvantaged business enterprises.
- **Protect the right of governments to choose the scope and level of public services to provide.** Trade agreements must not include regulatory restraints or disciplines that would lower the quality of public services, reduce access to them, adversely affect working conditions or promote privatization of those who provide such services. Public services, designed by the society to provide a minimum level of services for all, must not be undermined by any trade agreement.
- **Protect intellectual property (IP) in a fair and balanced manner.** IP protections—designed to promote innovation and serve the public interest—are critical to creating and maintaining domestic jobs, as well as to increasing exports. The U.S. economy produces many products for which IP is critical, from movies, television shows, sound recordings and documentary productions to software, medicines, fiber optics, specialty steel and countless other products. In particular, the creative arts economy is a significant contributor to economic growth, the gross domestic product of our nation and our rich cultural heritage. All working people prosper when we promote and protect the unique and original artistic and cultural contributions of American artists and entertainers. Trade agreements must support the livelihoods of the creators of intellectual property while also promoting legitimate competition—particularly in the area of generic medicines. A people-centered trade agreement puts the public interest first and does not create rules that advantage and reward anti-competitive behavior.
- **Protect the unique U.S. transportation regulatory and legal structure.** Foreign interests have long sought and are continuing to seek increased access to the U.S. aviation and maritime markets by weakening U.S. regulations and laws in international trade agreements. These industries and their workforces should not

be subjected to the regulatory interests of foreign governments and corporations. Rather, the existing network of laws and bilateral transportation-specific negotiations should be preserved in order to best protect the interests of the U.S. transportation workforce and promote competitiveness in the international marketplace.

- **Protect the right of governments to secure the integrity and stability of their financial systems.** The global megabanks have attempted to promote financial deregulation through trade agreements—this destabilizing practice must end. In particular, financial services provisions of trade agreements must protect the right of nations to institute capital controls and employ prudential measures as necessary to stabilize the financial system.
- **Be negotiated in an open, democratic and accountable manner.** Sunlight is the best disinfectant. Only when working people know what rules are being negotiated in their names can they exercise their rights as citizens—their rights to organize, mobilize and advocate for rules that put the common good over narrow, private interests.
- **Be flexible and responsive.** Nations must be free to change the rules of trade when they discover that the rules in place are not achieving shared prosperity, a healthy living environment or a sustainable economy.

Therefore, we commit to:

- Educating our members—and all workers—about the causes and effects of the current model of globalization, that there is another way, and that we need to act collectively to achieve a higher standard of living.
- Reporting and publicizing to members and the general public the results of existing trade agreements and trade policy on the quality of life for U.S. workers, including the impact on jobs, wages and bargaining power.
- Ensuring strong enforcement of trade agreements and trade remedy law, including by working to ensure sufficient funding for the Interagency Trade Enforcement Center.
- Ensuring that U.S. trade agreements reflect a people-centered policy by recommitting our opposition to 20th century-style “fast track” trade promotion authority that allows trade and globalization agreements to become law with limited debate, no amendments and no opportunity to send the administration back to the table to achieve the principles laid out above.
- Continuing our work to use the labor provisions of the Generalized System of Preferences and various trade agreements to hold countries to their obligations to protect labor rights.

- Demanding greater transparency and inclusiveness in creating U.S. international economic policies, consistent with democratic principles.
- Organizing our members, community allies and all workers to demand better—to demand trade that creates shared prosperity in the TPP, TTIP, TISA and any future trade agenda.
- Developing and executing joint strategies with partners in the international labor movement to shape a pro-worker agenda for trade policies.
- Utilizing all available strategies, including social media, to go beyond education and accomplish organization and mobilization.
- Ensuring that the U.S. policies reflect reforms needed to make U.S. producers and their employees more competitive in the global marketplace, including:
 - o Enacting the currency legislation that ensures the administration can treat currency manipulation as a countervailable duty;
 - o Enacting expanded and enhanced skills training for all workers, not just those whose jobs have been displaced by trade;
 - o Increasing federal funding to upgrade and rebuild ports, airports, railroads, roads, schools, water systems and other critical public infrastructure so that the United States does not lose private investment due to its old and crumbling public facilities; and
 - o Strengthening trade enforcement and anti-dumping remedies.
- Fighting to defeat any trade agreement that fails to prioritize the needs of working families and advance shared prosperity in the global economy.
- Holding our elected representatives accountable for their trade policies.
- **TPP:** So long as the TPP appears poised to promote the rights of the 1%—rather than shared gains from trade—we, along with our international labor movement and civil society partners, will oppose its adoption and implementation, devoting resources to create a national campaign.
- **TTIP:** The AFL-CIO is committed to partnering with the ETUC, other European national union centers and civil society allies to ensure the TTIP does not go the way of prior trade agreements, which have promoted corporate benefits at the expense of workers. We will develop and execute a joint strategy that reflects our principles. We will devote resources to ensure that members of the labor movement are educated, informed and active in the strategy.
- **TISA:** With international labor movement and civil society partners, we will develop and execute a joint strategy to shape the TISA into a positive vehicle for shared prosperity, and together devote resources to ensure that members of the

labor movement are educated, informed and active in the strategy.
(*End Resolution No. 12*)

NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

TRUMKA: Brothers and sisters, it is now time to nominate candidates for our constitutional positions of president, secretary-treasurer, executive vice president and 55 vice presidents to four-year terms that will begin upon their election.

This process is outlined in Rules 20 to 28 of the Convention Standing Rules.

First, Vice President Mike Sacco, the senior vice president of the federation, who has notified the chair that he does not intend to make or second a nomination for executive office, will conduct the nominations for the office of president.

Brother Sacco will next conduct the nominations for the office of secretary-treasurer, and then for executive vice president in that order.

Nominations for each office will close before nominations begin for the next office. Any delegate may make a nomination for any of these three offices and may speak for five minutes in support of the nomination.

There must be two seconders in order to make a nomination. Each seconder may speak for three minutes. If there is only one nominee for an executive office position, the nominee will be declared elected.

After the executive officers are nominated, the president of the AFL-CIO will conduct nominations for the 55 vice president positions. Under the rules, there are two methods for nominating a vice president. First, a signed nomination and two signed seconders for either a single nominee or a slate of nominees up to the total of 55 vice president positions may be submitted before the beginning of today's session. Or, nominations may be made and then seconded twice from the floor this afternoon.

The secretary-treasurer first will read the submitted written nominations and then the floor will be open for further nominations.

No speeches will be made in support of any nomination for vice president, whether previously submitted in writing or made from the floor.

Again, a delegate may nominate any number of individuals up to 55 for the office of vice president. A nominator may also designate his or her nominee as part of a slate.

Before any election ballot is printed, nominees who are slate-designated will have to notify the election officer in writing that they are, in fact, running as a slate. If there are no more than 55 nominees for vice president, the nominees will be declared elected.

If there are more than 55 nominees for vice president, an election will be conducted tomorrow morning, Wednesday, from 7 a.m. to 8:30 a.m. in Room 304. That election will be conducted by Election Officer Jimmy Williams.

Before the convention adjourns today, he will explain the procedures for the election, which are set forth in Rules 29 through 47 of the Convention Standing Rules.

I'll now turn over the chair to Vice President Mike Sacco to conduct the nominations for president. Brother Sacco.

NOMINATIONS—OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

VICE PRESIDENT MICHAEL SACCO, Seafarers International Union: Wow, what a convention.

Brothers and sisters, nominations are now open for the president of the AFL-CIO, and the chair recognizes Cecil Roberts, president of the United Mine Workers. Cecil. There he is, the handsome guy in the green shirt.

VICE PRESIDENT CECIL ROBERTS, United Mine Workers: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I rise today to nominate my best friend of the past 40 years, a person we all know well, our current president, Richard L. Trumka, to be the president of the AFL-CIO for another four years. *(Applause)*

Rich and I come from a union that's been blessed by the almighty hand of God itself. Along this way 105,000 coal miners have died in the mines, another 105,000 have died choking to death from black lung. Along the way, Rich and I have lost some of our best supporters. But the three best we've lost is Rich's dad and mom and my father. So I stand today on behalf of my dad and Rich's dad and Rich's mother to do what they would want us to do.

Our members have been blown up, burned up, covered up, enslaved, beaten, murdered, evicted and jailed. Coming from company houses and company towns, but we still stand here today proud to be members of the United Mine Workers and the AFL-CIO. *(Applause)*

We have given this movement some of its greatest leaders: Phil Murray, first president of the Steelworkers, the second president of the CIO; William Green, president of the AFL-CIO; Mother Jones and John L. Lewis; and yes, Richard Trumka. *(Applause)*

John L. Lewis in 1935 told us, "Heed this call that comes from the hearts of men. Organize the unorganized."

Rich Trumka has told us over the last two days: Heed this call that comes from the hearts of the young. Heed this call that comes from the hearts of the immigrants. Heed this call that comes from the hearts of women. Heed this call that comes from the people of color. Heed this call that comes from the hearts of the poor. Heed this call that comes from the hearts of our retirees. Heed this call that comes from the hearts of the unemployed. Heed this call that comes from the hearts of the uninsured.

Heed this call that calls out that every worker who does not have the benefit of a union, and he says to those workers: If you want higher pay, join a union. If you want to be in the middle class, join a union. If you want health care, join a union. If you want a safe workplace, join a union. If you want a healthier workplace, join a union. If you want a better America, join a union. If you want more democracy, join a union. If you want to be able to stand up and fight back, join a union.

Brothers and sisters, this is about all of us. This is not really about nominating our next leaders. This is about lifting those leaders up and standing with those leaders once you elect them.

I say on behalf of the farmers that fed the nation, the teachers that taught the nation, the nurses that healed the nation, the firefighters that saved the nation, the police officers that protect the nation, the steelworkers and the building trades that built this nation, the communications workers that connected this nation, the electricians that wired this nation, the auto workers that moved this nation, the coal miners that energized this nation, the public employees that make this nation work.

We leave here today forward by hope, not backward by fear. But it is time, brothers and sisters, to get off our asses and get on our feet and get out the door and hit the street. (*Standing ovation*)

Brothers and sisters—brothers and sisters, on behalf of every union member in this hall and every union member across this country, and every union member that we can think of across this world and everybody that works for a living in this country, I proudly submit Richard Trumka again to be the next president of the AFL-CIO.

And then, brothers and sisters, in the immortal words of Dr. King, “We’ll be free at last, free at last. Thank God Almighty, we’ll be free at last.” (*Standing ovation*)

SACCO: Yeah, yeah. Brothers and sisters, Richard Trumka has been nominated for the office of president. Is there a second? The chair recognizes Lee Saunders, president of AFSCME. Lee.

VICE PRESIDENT LEE A. SAUNDERS, AFSCME: Good afternoon, delegates. I think I’m going to yield my time so we can hear more from Cecil Roberts. How is that? (*Applause*)

Now that Cecil Roberts has preached the word for us, it is my honor, my honor to be in the Amen corner and have the privilege of seconding Rich Trumka’s nomination as president of the AFL-CIO. (*Applause*)

In all the years I’ve known Rich, he’s been a powerful advocate for the principles we all stand for. He speaks, he speaks from the heart about the issues that matter most to working families all across this country.

And whether he’s on camera or at a podium, his words are eloquent, forceful, unapologetic and passionate.

Rich is a true believer in the bedrock principle that folks who work hard, folks who play by the rules, should be able to live and retire in security and with dignity. Rich believes in that.

This belief, this belief is based on his own experiences in what he learned growing up in a family of hard workers who never, ever, ever expected to get rich but did expect and had the right to expect economic security and fairness.

Rich’s loyalty to his principles makes him an outstanding leader. He doesn’t tell us what we want to hear, but what we need to hear. You know what he thinks because he says it. You know what he believes because he lives it every single day. And you know what he stands up for. He never, ever lets working families down.

You know, Rich Trumka is consistent in his beliefs that he can go easily from the White House to the board room to the picket line. But I know Rich, and I know that Rich would always prefer being on that picket line supporting working families every single day. (*Applause*)

There's a stanza from the poem "If" that sums up Rich Trumka:

"If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,
Or walk with Kings—nor lose the common touch,
If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,
If all men count with you, but none too much."

All working men and women count with Rich Trumka, and he has shown this to us time and time and time again. You know, sisters and brothers, leading this federation, it's not easy. It's tough. Because the issues are tough and the labor movement is made up of diverse unions. But we share the same goals. We often have different ideas, but we do share the same goals, and we try to achieve those goals together.

Rich has the fortitude and he has the skills for this job. Rich wakes up every morning ready to fight like hell for his members and fight for working families all across this country, and he goes to bed each night to rest up. He goes to bed each night to rest up so he can fight like hell once again the next morning.

Rich Trumka, he reminds us that he believes this, that everyone in this room, our members all across this country, we are the crusaders, we are the game changers, we are the agitators, we are the revolutionaries. We are the Freedom Fighters, we are the troublemakers in this country. (*Applause*)

That's who we are. (*Applause*)

That's who we must be. (*Applause*)

When we come together, like we are coming together like never before this week, we come together. And we're leaving this hall and we're marching together. We're rallying together. We're singing together. We're making our voices heard together. And together we will win this fight, sisters and brothers.

And we're going to win?

(*Shouts of "Yeah!"*)

Are we going to win?

(*Shouts of "Yeah!"*)

Are we going to win?

(*Shouts of "Yeah!"*)

I am so proud, so proud, and on behalf of the 1.6 million members of the Green Mean Machine AFSCME—(*Applause*)—I am so proud, it's my privilege and honor to second the nomination of my friend, to second the nomination of my brother, to second the nomination of my president, Rich Trumka.

God bless you, Brother. (*Cheers and applause*)

SACCO: Richard Trumka has been nominated and seconded for the office of the president. Is there another second? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2, María Elena Durazo, executive secretary-treasurer of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor. María Elena.

DURAZO: Yes, thank you very much. Sisters and brothers, I rise proudly to second

the nomination of our brother, Richard Trumka, for president of the AFL-CIO.
(*Cheers and applause*)

On the great battlefields of the American labor movement, Richard has led the charge—from the coal fields of Virginia during the Pittston strike, to the hot sidewalks of Las Vegas during the six-and-a-half-year-long Frontier hotel strike.

But the most difficult struggles aren't always with our adversaries in corporate America. They are within our own ranks. During tough times, when it's easy for workers to be divided and pitted against each other over issues of race, language or nationality, a real leader rises to the challenge.

I remember so vividly during the presidential campaign in 2008 the beautiful and candid address Richard made to the Steelworkers convention. Richard said in that address, "There's one really bad reason to vote against Barack Obama. He's not white."

It's with equal courage and candor that Richard Trumka has taken up the cause of immigration reform and a path to citizenship for millions and millions of undocumented immigrants in this nation.

Again, Richard has not forgotten the roots of the miners in his own hometown, the Italians, the Polish and the Slovaks. It's on behalf, sisters and brothers, of the new generations of immigrants and workers that I proudly second the nomination of Richard Trumka for the office of president of the AFL-CIO.

We love you, Brother Richard Trumka. (*Cheers and applause*)

SACCO: Thank you, María Elena.

The nomination of Richard Trumka for the office of president has been properly made and seconded twice.

Are there any further nominations?

Are there any further nominations?

Seeing no delegates who wish to be recognized, the chair declares nominations for the office of president closed. (*Cheers and applause*)

In accordance with the rules of this convention, Richard Trumka is declared elected president of the AFL-CIO. (*Standing ovation*)

NOMINATIONS—OFFICE OF SECRETARY-TREASURER

SACCO: Nominations are now open for the office of secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO. I don't see anybody at the mike. (*Laughter*) There he is, my chairman. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2, Ed Hill, international president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Ed.

VICE PRESIDENT EDWIN D. HILL, IBEW: Good afternoon, brothers and sisters. Thank you. I have standing next to me a proud, proud father who watched a beautiful daughter rise to great heights. Lance, thank you for standing here with me and for being with the IBEW here. (*Applause*)

You know, trying to keep my praise for Liz Shuler to a few minutes is a challenge, and I don't have that kind of speaking enthusiasm, if you will, that my good friend

has from the Mine Workers. I'd probably have a stroke if I did that. *(Laughter)*

It's a challenge anyway, but I'll give it my best shot.

You know I promise not to get emotional this year, or this time. The last time I had a little choke-up because I was losing a very, very close friend and someone I counted on.

Four years ago I had the pleasure of introducing Liz Shuler to the labor movement. She was already well-known in the IBEW. She was already seasoned, but that was the first time that many of the delegates had an opportunity to even see her in person. I was well aware that there was some skepticism in the room as to why Richard Trumka had chosen a relatively unknown, in the eyes of some, inexperienced young woman to hold the federation's Number Two job.

Well, well, well, well. To paraphrase an old song, brothers and sisters, "How do you like her now?" *(Applause)*

By now, by now, everyone knows that I wasn't blowing smoke around when we were in Pittsburgh. I said that the movement was getting an individual capable of getting our financial situation under control with a sharp and a very critical eye. She has worked so very hard to get that done. I said we're getting, number two, an officer capable of projecting a positive image for the labor movement, to serve as a visible role model and a leader for younger workers. She has done that.

I said we're getting a leader to be able to carry the task of rebuilding our movement from the ground up, winning back those who were skeptical about labor's role in their lives. She's doing that every day.

Liz Shuler. Liz Shuler has been the IBEW's gift to the trade union movement. *(Applause)*

Liz Shuler has defied stereotypes, smashed glass ceilings since her days with the IBEW Local 125 in Portland, Oregon. She's done it with intelligence, she's done it with competence and poise under fire—a very rare combination of talents—and Liz has them.

When the AFL-CIO needed a new secretary-treasurer to connect with union members and interject a new energy into the movement, who better than Liz Shuler?

When Richard Trumka needed a point person to spearhead a new movement among young workers, who better than Liz Shuler?

When we needed a fresh face to tell labor's story in a way that connected our basic values with a larger audience, who better than Liz Shuler?

When I nominated Liz in 2009, I had no doubt of her ability, her dedication, her commitment to our great cause, and now you all know as well, because she has fulfilled every promise she made that day and then some. But this election is not about what Liz Shuler has done in the past. Believe me, brothers and sisters, it's about what she will do in the future.

I, for one, don't expect more of the same from Liz. I expect fresh thinking, new thinking, new ideas, more innovation, progress and repositioning our movement. I expect those things because everything about Liz Shuler's career has made me believe that this is what she will do. I expect it—I expect it, because she has been a friend, she has been a sister and a leader to all of us over the past four years.

That is why, brothers and sisters, I stand here with pride, with honor to place the name of Elizabeth Hope Shuler in nomination for secretary-treasurer of the AFL. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

SACCO: Thank you, Ed. Elizabeth Shuler has been nominated for the office of secretary-treasurer. (*Applause*) Is there a second? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2, Roxanne Brown, assistant legislative director of the United Steelworkers.

ROXANNE BROWN, USW: Good morning—well, good afternoon, excuse me.

My name is Roxanne Brown, and I'm a proud member of the United Steelworkers. I also don't have the amazing speaking prowess of Brother Cecil and Brother Lee, but I promise you that I speak from my heart as I'm about to second this nomination. I come with an army of people who also support this amazing woman.

When I first met Liz, she worked as a lobbyist for the IBEW. I had just been promoted to lobbyist in my union, and I remember going to the first legislative committee meeting at the AFL-CIO and looking around the room of mostly seasoned men.

Despite what President Hill just said, you weren't seasoned then, you're not seasoned now. You're still a young worker.

And it was amazing for me to see you, Liz, in that room.

So many people in this movement look to you, Liz, as an inspiration. Women like me. Because they are not a lot of people who look like me in this movement. So you and Arlene and so many others serve as inspirations every single day for people like me, and I thank you. (*Applause*)

Like me, Liz came up in a union that helped shape the history of our movement and has been a powerful force in our federation for a long time. I am a Woman of Steel. Our sister, Liz, is a sister in the Electrical Workers. Liz has made a concerted effort to look forward to include our future leaders and ask tough questions like how to engage young people, and women, and has been clear-eyed about the challenges in front of us.

My hope for Liz Shuler's next four years is that she continues to push for more plain talk and solution-driven leadership, more energy and attention on young worker issues and other inclusion efforts, and more steady, dedicated leadership on our finances.

With Liz Shuler, what you see is what you get. A strong labor sister who has the optimism, the energy, the work ethic and the toughness that we need to make a difference for working people.

I strongly and proudly second the nomination of Liz Shuler for secretary-treasurer because she's leading us forward to the next generation of the labor movement. Thank you, Liz. (*Standing ovation*)

SACCO: Thank you, Roxanne. Elizabeth Shuler has been nominated and seconded for the office of secretary-treasurer. Is there any other second? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2, Lynne Dodson, secretary-treasurer of the Washington State Labor Council. Lynne.

DODSON: Thank you. I'm also a 20-year member of the American Federation of Teachers, Local 1789. It's my pleasure and honor to rise to second the nomination of Liz Shuler for secretary-treasurer. *(Applause)*

I felt like I knew Liz before I met her. My sisters and brothers in the IBEW would regale me with stories about their homegrown sister from Portland, watching her rise up the ranks, a shining star, smart, hard working. They told me she had a vision but that she was also practical; she dreams big and she does what it takes to get there.

It wasn't long before I got to meet this sister I heard so much about, and she was just like they said and, also, very charming, unpretentious, humble, and completely committed to the labor movement and to all of us.

But a great personality is only a part of what makes a great leader. And it's really her get-it-done spirit that inspires me to so heartily support Liz Shuler.

I know financial health and transparency aren't usually the issues that make it into big speeches. Sort of like, "What do we want?" "A clean balance sheet!" *(Laughter)*

"Solid revenue, lean expend—"—no, I don't know. Not exactly the stuff to rile up the crowd.

But it's critical work and Liz quietly and effectively oversees our finances. Her integrity and oversight build our confidence and demonstrate the high standards we have in the labor movement for fiscal responsibility. As a result, we're in a better place than we were four years ago.

We've always supported bringing young people into the movement, but Liz has taken this work to a whole new level; intent not only on supporting and training young workers, but mostly on giving them voice and leadership. It helped that she had the credibility of being the youngest officer ever elected to the AFL-CIO. But it was hard work, plus a good sense of humor, liking fun, that built the network of young workers we have today.

In Washington when we started our Young Worker Group, YL, Liz's support, her willingness to come out to the very early events, her encouragement helped YL build an organization that activates hundreds of our young workers across the state.

Liz Shuler is a true sister. She worked her way up. She'd rather give other people credit than take it for herself. She puts us first. She knows the job is not about her. She's here to represent workers, give them a voice on the job, give them a voice in politics, and make sure that every single one of us has the opportunity to succeed.

I also admire Sister Shuler's work on telling the story of who we are: The union members work hard and work well, that we're everywhere in the community, that we're the ones who fight against the exploitation of workers here and around the world. We are the ones who hold elected officials accountable. We are the ones who build this country and strengthen the economy. We are the most powerful force in the world for social justice and democracy. We do the work.

We can see from this convention where she's headed for the next four years. Making our movement more inclusive, making it more dynamic and more powerful, and making sure we have the resources and financial plan to put our big ideas into practice.

This is such an exciting moment in our history and I fully endorse this great leadership team and enthusiastically, enthusiastically second the nomination of Liz

Shuler for secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO. Thank you. *(Applause)*

SACCO: Thank you, Lynne. The nomination of Elizabeth Shuler for the office of secretary-treasurer has been properly made and seconded twice.

Are there any further nominations?

Are there any further nominations?

Seeing no delegates who wish to be recognized, the chair declares nominations for the office of secretary-treasurer closed. *(Applause)*

In accordance with the rules of this convention, Elizabeth Shuler is declared elected as secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO. Congratulations, Liz. *(Standing ovation)*

NOMINATIONS—OFFICE OF EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

SACCO: I now open nominations for the office of executive vice president of the AFL-CIO. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2, Joseph Hansen, international president of the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union. Joe.

HANSEN: Thank you, Mike. I am so proud to nominate my brother, my friend, and a proud Local 324 UFCW member, Tefere Gebre, as executive vice president of this great AFL-CIO.

It is an honor to make this nomination. I want to tell you a little bit about this wonderful man.

Tefere is a UFCW member who took a struggling Orange County CLC in a Republican-dominated county and turned it into a powerhouse for working families. *(Applause)*

Tefere is a change engine, and Tefere embodies exactly why the UFCW is now affiliated with the AFL-CIO game-changing leadership. *(Applause)*

As executive director of the Orange County CLC, and an organizer at heart, Tefere takes the CLC door to door, day after day, talking about the needs of working families and signing up voters.

In the first political cycle of his leadership, his efforts registered—listen to this—20,000 voters, and literally flipped the political landscape countywide. *(Applause)*

Tefere's leadership quadrupled the political capacity of the Orange County CLC, led to successful living wage and big box campaigns, and won the confidence in solidarity of not just labor, but a broad group of allies.

He demands that political endorsements come only after candidates pass the CLC's candidate academy, a program that makes sure that union members' support only goes to elected officials who actually understand and commit to our issues.

During that proud fight last year in California against corporate America's Prop 32, Tefere and the Orange County CLC brought in the third-highest "no" vote in the state. This is in Orange County, the stronghold, supposed stronghold of the right wing. *(Cheers and applause)*

He set a new bar and new model for making CLCs a true force for progressive change in their communities.

Tefere also got tired of working people taking a beating in the local right-wing

attack rag posing as a newspaper, the Orange County Register, so he pulled laborers and allies together to start up an independent news agency that would report fairly on the lives of working families. Now, The Voice of Orange County has replaced that other paper as the source for real news for the Associated Press.

But there is much, much more to the story of Tefere. Tefere has known hard work his whole life. At the age of 14, he rose up and walked across the desert, out of his native country of Ethiopia, which was controlled by a repressive government, into Sudan. He was attacked by bandits. He survived and he made his way to a refugee camp.

He came to the United States as an immigrant and a political refugee without his family. He worked hard. He studied hard. He ran hard. Tefere made his way to college with scholarships from extreme success as a distance runner. But while at college, Tefere worked. On the job as a UPS worker, Tefere learned immediately that having a union means that someone has got your back.

From that experience, Tefere committed himself to supporting and strengthening the labor movement. After working for the famous progressive California Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, Tefere organized, he strategized and built coalitions with the AFL-CIO, with the Laborers, the California state federation and the Orange County CLC.

He was twice elected president of the California Young Democrats, making him the first African American and first immigrant to hold that position.

Tefere is a remarkable story. He is smart, he is energetic and his work for labor has just begun. Tefere embodies the American dream. He is a labor leader that deserves our support.

So I proudly nominate Tefere Gebre, a union builder, a game changer, an innovator and a UFCW member, who will help shape our movement and build our future.

Thank you very much. *(Cheers and applause)*

SACCO: Thank you, Joe. Thank you. Tefere Gebre has been nominated for the office of executive vice president. Is there a second? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2, Doug Moore, executive director of the United Domestic Workers/AFSCME. Doug.

DOUG MOORE, United Domestic Workers/AFSCME: Good afternoon, sisters and brothers. I'm the executive director of UDW Local 3930, an AFSCME affiliate, representing 65,000 home care providers here in California. *(Cheers and applause)*

I'm also an international vice president of AFSCME, and I've been in the labor movement for well over 30 years.

Today, I proudly and strongly rise to second the nomination of my brother, my friend, Tefere Gebre. *(Cheers and applause)*

You know, in my lifetime I've met many passionate, hard-working and talented people who dedicate not just their careers, but their heart and souls to their fellow workers and the labor movement. Tefere is an outstanding example of that kind of person I'm talking about, and a role model. Anyone looking to shake up things and make positive change for labor, it's Tefere.

As executive director of the Orange County Labor Federation, Tefere has more than doubled the federation's membership and quadrupled his political mobilization capacity.

Under his the direction, the federation has increased its program staff from two to 15, and registered more than 69,000 new voters, dramatically changing the electoral landscape of the county. *(Cheers and applause)*

The federation also has become the driving force for policy change in the county by passing a living wage ordinance in the city of Irvine, work and retention policies in the city of Santa Ana and leading the fight in Anaheim to gain voting rights for Latinos.

Most importantly, Tefere's passion for empowering underserved communities has influenced how the labor federation engages with community organizations, and has become the go-to hub for community building and civic engagement.

As a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, I know that he will bring the same level of enthusiasm and a vision for a better and stronger future for American workers while still staying true to his passion for empowering the disempowered.

Sisters and brothers, this is why I am so pleased, so honored, to second the nomination of Tefere Gebre. Thank you. *(Cheers and applause)*

SACCO: Thank you, Doug. Tefere Gebre has been nominated and seconded for the office of executive vice president. Is there any other second?

MARYBE McMILLAN, North Carolina State AFL-CIO: Yes.

SACCO: The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2, MaryBe McMillan, secretary-treasurer of the South Carolina State AFL-CIO. Mary.

McMILLAN: Mr. Chair, I'm an Operating Engineer and I'm secretary-treasurer not of the South Carolina AFL-CIO, but the North Carolina State AFL-CIO.

SACCO: Well, I got the north and south a little mixed up, maybe, huh?

McMILLAN: Maybe so. I proudly rise to second the nomination of Tefere Gebre as executive vice president of the AFL-CIO.

I am surrounded by my brothers and sisters from state feds and CLCs across the country, and I speak on their behalf when I say that we are so, so proud to have one of our own as part of the national leadership team.

Tefere understands the joys and the difficulties of building a strong local labor movement. He took the struggling Orange County Labor Federation, a CLC in the most conservative part of California, and he transformed it into a political powerhouse that wins real victories for workers. *(Cheers and applause)*

Tefere knows that despite any challenges, building a strong local labor movement is not only worth the effort, it is absolutely essential if we want a stronger movement nationwide.

Tefere understands that the future of the labor movement depends not on what

happens in Washington, D.C., but on what happens in the places we call home. *(Cheers and applause)*

For us to win shared prosperity for everyone, we have to fight back in Wisconsin and Ohio. We have to organize workers in New York and Chicago. And we must win the hearts and minds of workers in the most conservative places, places like Orange County, California, and my hometown of Hickory, North Carolina.

Tefere understands that. He knows that for this movement to grow, we must offer workers hope wherever they are, whatever their struggle. I can think of no one who can offer more hope to workers than a man who left Ethiopia and walked three months in pursuit of freedom. A man who came to America and now works tirelessly in pursuit of justice.

Brothers and sisters, Tefere is the leader our movement needs at this moment. He is not afraid of long odds or a long fight. He sees not obstacles but possibilities. He does not question whether our future will be brighter. He knows that together our future is the brightest it has ever been.

Tefere is such an inspiration, not only to me, but to immigrant workers who are struggling for citizenship, to young workers who are fighting for recognition as leaders, and to all workers who want a voice at work and a shot at the American dream.

With the leadership team of Rich Trumka, Liz Shuler and Tefere Gebre, we will build a working-class movement from California all the way to North Carolina, and we will win justice for all workers whatever their struggle, wherever they call home.

Brothers and sisters, let's bring some hope and inspiration to workers. Let's elect Tefere Gebre as our next executive vice president. *(Cheers and applause)*

SACCO: Thank you, MaryBe, secretary-treasurer of the North Carolina State AFL-CIO.

The nomination of Tefere Gebre for the office of Executive Vice President has been properly made and seconded twice.

Are there any further nominations?

Are there any other further nominations?

Seeing no delegates who wish to be recognized, the chair declares nominations for the office of executive vice president closed.

In accordance with the rules of this convention, Tefere Gebre is declared elected as executive vice president of the AFL-CIO.

Tefere, congratulations. *(Standing ovation)*

TRUMKA: Now in compliance with Convention Standing Rule 27, I have submitted to the Convention chair signed nominations of a slate of 55 members of the AFL-CIO for the 55 positions of vice president.

Each of these nominations has been seconded twice by Liz and Tefere. Secretary-Treasurer Shuler will now read the nominations to the crowd.

NOMINATIONS—OFFICE OF VICE PRESIDENT

SECRETARY-TREASURER ELIZABETH H. SHULER: All right. The 55 nominees for vice president are:

James Andrews, North Carolina State AFL-CIO.
Stuart Appelbaum, RWDSU-UFCW.
James Boland, Bricklayers.
R. Thomas Buffenbarger, Machinists.
James Callahan, Operating Engineers.
Larry Cohen, CWA.
J. David Cox, AFGE.
Harold Daggett, International Longshoremen.
Rose Ann DeMoro, NNU.
Bhairavi Desai, National Taxi Workers Alliance.
María Elena Durazo, LA County Federation of Labor.
David Durkee, BCTGM.
Patrick Finley, Plasterers and Cement Masons.
Roy Flores, AFGE.
Leo Gerard, USW.
Michael Goodwin, OPEIU.
James Grogan, Heat and Frost Insulators.
Cliff Guffey, Postal Workers.
Lawrence Hanley, ATU.
Joseph Hansen, UFCW.
Edwin D. Hill, IBEW.
William P. Hite, Plumbers and Pipe Fitters.
General Holiefield, UAW.
Ken Howard, SAG-AFTRA.
Lorretta Johnson, AFT.
Newton B. Jones, Boilermakers.
Gregory Junemann, IFPTE.
Bob King, UAW.
Michael Langford, Utility Workers.
James C. Little, Transport Workers.
Matthew Loeb, IATSE.
Sean McGarvey, BCTD.
Lee Moak, Air Line Pilots.
Joseph Nigro, SMART.
Terry O'Sullivan, LIUNA.
Fred Redmond, USW.
Laura Reyes, AFSCME.
Kenneth Rigmaiden, Painters.
Paul Rinaldi, NATCA.
Clyde Rivers, CSEA.
Cecil Roberts, Mine Workers.
Fredric Rolando, Letter Carriers.
Michael Sacco, Seafarers.
Lee Saunders, Green Machine AFSCME.
Robert Scardelletti, TCU/IAM.

Harold Schaitberger, Fire Fighters.
Veda Shook, AFA-CWA.
Bruce Smith, Glass, Molders.
DeMaurice Smith, NFLPA.
D. Taylor, UNITE HERE.
Baldemar Velásquez, FLOC.
Randi Weingarten, AFT.
Walter Wise, Ironworkers.
Nancy Wohlforth, OPEIU.
Diann Woodard, School Administrators.

Thank you. (*Cheers and applause*)

TRUMKA: The slate of 55 members whose names have just been read has been properly nominated and seconded.

Are there any other nominations?

Are there any other nominations?

Are there any other nominations for the office of vice president?

Seeing no delegate who seeks to be recognized, the chair declares that nominations for the office for vice president are closed. And in accordance with the rules of this convention, I further declare that the 55 nominees just read are elected as vice presidents of the AFL-CIO.

Congratulations, all. (*Standing ovation*)

Brothers and sisters, the new executive vice president of the AFL-CIO, Tefere Gebre.

Tefere. (*Applause*)

TEFERE GEBRE **Executive Vice President, AFL-CIO**

Thank you. Thank you, brothers and sisters. I know you have a baseball game to get to, so I will be quick.

I want to thank President Joe Hansen, MaryBe and Doug for your moving nominations.

Let me also express my deeply felt gratitude and thank Rich and Liz for having the confidence in me and inviting me to lead this movement I love. A movement, without a doubt, moving in the right direction. A labor movement positioned to speak, fight and win for all workers.

I also want to recognize my family, some of whom traveled from far to be here. They are sitting over there. (*Applause*)

My mother, who doesn't speak English, 81 years young and still a fighter. My sister Nisihit, and my nephew Yonathan. My mother-in-law and sisters-in-law, who came from Wisconsin to be here with me today. Thank you. And to the rest of my family too long to list.

And to my beautiful wife, Jennifer, who is my best friend, and is the greatest trade unionist that I have known so far. Thank you for being you, baby. (*Applause*)

To my union and nonunion family from Orange County, a lot of you are here today. You are in my heart. You will always remain in my heart. Together, we have built a labor movement in a county no one ever imagined possible.

Thirty years ago, as you heard, as a 14-year-old child from Ethiopia, not only did I dream of America, but I started a journey to live out my dreams. That's when a few friends and I decided to escape the horror of war and the brutal military government and walked for weeks across the desert of the Sudan.

I lived in a Sudanese refugee camp until I was given a once-in-a-lifetime chance to come to America as a political refugee. At the tender age of 15, I started a brand-new life in this City of Angels.

I graduated from high school not far away from here from this convention center, at Belmont High School. To say life as a teen in Los Angeles without having a parent, or a relative, was not easy would be an understatement. I had to work a full-time job in a liquor store, getting paid cash under the table. I studied to be the best student I could be, trying every sport possible in the hope of getting an athletic scholarship. I was lucky, I became a good distance runner, good enough to gain a full track and field scholarship.

This is not just my story. It's a story of millions who proudly call America home. Documented and undocumented, the immigrant story is what makes this place so special. *(Applause)*

Once in college, at Cal Poly Pomona, I took a night shift job at UPS. That's where I got my first chance to work my first union job, a job where my rights at work were respected, where I learned I had a protective shield called collective bargaining.

And so, I stand before you today. I stand before you knowing no political party is our salvation. Our salvation won't come from political consultants or polling firms. Our salvation comes from our solidarity. Our salvation comes from the work we do with those who share our common values in the community.

Brothers and sisters, I'm ready to go to work with Rich and Liz. I'm ready to work for an America that I dreamed of, for an America that values work and honors those who do the work.

You see, the America I dreamed about expands voting rights, instead of going back to the dark days of systemic discrimination. My beloved America does not value the First Amendment rights of corporations anymore than a coal miner in West Virginia or a carwash worker in Los Angeles. *(Applause)*

And my beloved America does not fire workers for wanting to have a voice and for wanting to have a union at their workplace. *(Applause)*

So today, I pledge to you to follow the lead of our great leader Rich Trumka and to fight not for what is convenient, but to fight for what's right. *(Applause)*

To my brothers and sisters in the local labor movements, state federations and CLCs, I am one of you. *(Applause)*

I know how hard your work is, I know how important a role you play. You see, each of us has the responsibility to convene the labor movement in our communities, across unions and across sectors, to work in a real partnership with allies in the community. That is what we do. And when we are at our best, the labor movement can lead. We need to be at our best, and I pledge to you today, CLCs and

state feds, to be there for you, to listen, to advise, so that you can become the best that you can be. *(Applause)*

Yesterday we saw a moving video chronicling a life of one of my heroes. I am being asked to fill the shoes of my hero, Arlene Holt Baker. *(Applause)*

Arlene, thank you for being so strong. Thank you for a life of service, not only to the labor movement, but to all who seek justice.

You have been a great ambassador of our movement. I know you're not going away, and we are all lucky that you will be around leading, teaching and fighting for voting rights, workers' rights and everything in between. Thank you again, Arlene. *(Applause)*

This is not about me. It's a call from a new labor movement unmistakably saying no matter what your accent, no matter what your skin color, no matter how far away you were born from this country, not only join the labor movement, but come lead it. Today that call has become real.

Thank you, Rich. Thank you, everybody. Let's go to work. Thank you. *(Standing ovation)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Tefere.

And now, brothers and sisters, the secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO, Liz Shuler. Liz. *(Standing ovation)*

ELIZABETH H. SHULER
Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO

Thank you. Thank you all so much.

Brothers and sisters, it is a true joy to stand before you today, and I proudly accept the honor of serving as your secretary-treasurer for another four years. *(Applause)*

Before I do anything else, I want to say thank you to Ed Hill. You cried last time, I'm crying now. As was the case four years ago, I can think of no other person that I'd rather have nominate me again today than you. You're a visionary leader, a genuine mentor and a true friend. Thank you. *(Applause)*

And thanks to my sisters in solidarity, Secretary-Treasurer Lynne Dodson of the Washington state fed and Roxanne Brown of the United Steelworkers. Thank you, thank you, thank you.

And thank all of you for the journey we're about to undertake together building a new day for the labor movement. And we're going to do it according to the first principle of solidarity: Together. Together. *(Applause)*

Four years ago I stood before you and pledged that my stewardship of the AFL-CIO's money—your money, the money of our members—would be carried out with a renewed commitment to transparency and accountability. We knew that we were not insulated from the pain of a troubled economy. Working families, our members, took the biggest hit as the recession gnawed away at their jobs, their health care, their very security, and on top of this, relentless political attacks on collective bargaining. We knew our affiliates were tightening their belts and that ours would have to be taken in a few notches as well. We got it, and we acted accordingly.

So we scrutinized our finances to the smallest detail. We made tough choices and we set priorities. The result is, as of the last fiscal year, we have a balanced budget. *(Applause)*

The result is a \$22 million turnaround in our net assets. *(Applause)*

The result is that our finances are being handled in accordance with the highest professional standards. *(Applause)*

That's right.

As secretary-treasurer, this is my Number One commitment to you. And thanks to the good work of the Finance Committee, together we have met our responsibility, and we will not let up on our efforts. *(Applause)*

I hear affiliates clapping.

Our improved financial situation is a major step forward, but it is not a signal to relax our vigilance or loosen our standards. As we have heard throughout this convention and in Rich's rousing keynote, the AFL-CIO is on the move, tackling the most vital issues of the day. And we are better positioned now financially than we were four years ago.

Of course, we are nowhere near out of the woods. We all know there will continue to be challenges ahead, and we recommit ourselves to the principles of transparency and accountability that have gotten us this far.

Four years ago, I also talked about the need to redefine how the public sees unions. To put it plainly, we have an image problem. Rich asked me to lead the effort to change the perception of the labor movement in the hearts and minds of the public. I don't need to tell you our opponents have done a great job creating a disconnect between what labor unions do and what the public thinks we do. It's gotten to the point where our message rings hollow in the ears of those who need to hear it the most. The answer isn't just to get frustrated with the people outside our movement who just don't get it and don't automatically understand our value. The answer is to engage those people where they live—*(Applause)*—to help them see that our core values are the same as theirs. Values like equality and fairness, patriotism, hard work. Our answer is to show them that work connects us all. Work connects us all.

We've made a strong start identifying eight principles to drive the project, strategies that work, and creative partnerships with Univision and online social sharing works like Upworthy and Blogger and Jezebel to get us into the conversations where they are actually happening.

We did things that work spectacularly and things that didn't work so well. But the bottom line is we have to try new things. We knew going into this that it would be a long-term initiative. It took decades to lose public confidence, and we're not going to regain it in a week or a month or even a year. This will be a sustained and dedicated effort, and we must keep it moving forward. *(Applause)*

The last area we talked about in Pittsburgh is the critical need to engage young workers in the labor movement, to listen to their concerns and give them a sense of belonging and ownership. This has probably been the most rewarding part of the job and the most challenging. You seasoned folks know what I'm talking about, right? OK. *(Laughter)*

Our Next Step program has created new paths, new networks and, yes, new Twitter feeds for young workers to engage in their unions and their local labor federations. It has sparked young people's imaginations and given them the tools and the skills they need to organize and lead the fight for their future.

I don't have words to fully describe the feeling when you see a light in a young person's eyes when they realize that their desire to be part of something bigger than themselves is within reach, when they see that they have the power. Let's harness that power and bring the old school and the new school together in solidarity.

(Applause)

I will go anywhere and talk to anyone who will listen about the energy and optimism of young workers and their critical role in the next wave of our movement. I'm proud to do this work with the Young Workers Advisory Council, with so many of our affiliates, and with dozens of young worker groups across the country.

Through all of this work I'm drawn again and again into conversations about how we can stand up for working people in new and different ways. With young people it's often about new forms of communication, tweets and texts, not phone and email.

With women it's about new forms of labor standards like paid sick days, or different models of leadership development.

With unions, more generally, it's about how we can use technology to our advantage. Not looking at it as a threat, but let's think about old challenges in new ways.

My hope for the next four years is to identify and promote these kinds of innovations that put the labor movement on the leading edge of workplace change.

Above all, it has been a great honor to be a part of a leadership team that has given working people a new and stronger voice. It has been my privilege to stand together with my teammates.

Rich, your passion for this movement inspires me each and every day. Thank you, my brother. *(Applause)*

Arlene, there you are. I'll miss you, my sister. Thank you for your support and, simply put, you are a giant. *(Applause)*

I look forward to working with Tefere Gebre. I know his great work in Orange County, and I can't wait to have his energy and creativity in Washington, D.C. *(Applause)*

Time, of course, doesn't allow me to do justice in giving thanks to all those whose love and friendship and support made it possible for me to stand here today. My loving husband, who's sitting over there, David. *(Applause)*

He's my rock and my partner in all things, including staying up with me until all hours of the night fine-tuning speeches—ahem—I feel so lucky to be together with you on this journey.

My parents, Lance Shuler and my late mother Joyce, who together instilled the values of hard work and compassion in me and whose love made me the person I am today. *(Applause)*

My sister, Anna, and her husband, Ansis, and my sweet nephews, who may or may not be over there because I heard some crying earlier, Roland and Lance. I am so grateful for your support and advice and a gentle shove when needed.

My IBEW family, you know who you are. And I love you. Thank you. *(Applause)*

Brothers and sisters, the road is long and we all know the challenges ahead, but we are armed with the greatest tool of all: the truth. The truth of justice and dignity and solidarity. So let us continue the journey. Let's go forward from Los Angeles and bring our truth to all those who work for a living and hope for a brighter day. Thank you. *(Standing ovation)*

Now it is my great honor to present to you AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka. *(Standing ovation)*

RICHARD L. TRUMKA
President, AFL-CIO

Thank you. Thank you very much. I am truly honored by your support. I'm humbled, truly humbled, by your faith in me.

What can I say about my brother and my nominator, Cecil Roberts? Cec, I just want to say thank you, and I learn from you every single day. As you know, I am now and I always will be UMWA and proud to have you as my president. *(Applause)*

I owe a debt of gratitude also to my sister and the leader of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, María Elena Durazo. Thank you for your second, thank you for your heart, thank you for your compassion, thank you for your drive and thank you for your leadership.

And, Lee, my brother, you know, we've been around for a long time. We've worked together for a long time, and I want to thank you. Thank you for your leadership. I want to thank you for your friendship. I want to thank you for your tenacity, your willingness, your drive and your vision. I want to thank you for being a great, great friend and a great brother. Thank you, my friend. *(Applause)*

I'm honored to serve with an outstanding team with Secretary-Treasurer Liz Shuler and Executive Vice President Tefere Gebre. I want to thank them for all that they have done and all they will do, because we have a lot of work in front of us.

I especially want to thank my family—over there somewhere—that are with us today. I want to thank you for your support. I definitely want to thank you for your patience and your understanding, and I want to thank you for always—I mean always—being there for me, with me. I couldn't do it without you. I just have to say, thank you for the love that you share with me. *(Applause)*

You see, brothers and sisters, if we can see far or do good things, or achieve lofty things—any of us—it's because we stand on the shoulders of giants who have come before us. Think of all the giants whose shoulders that we stand on.

I'm just one example that a man or a woman can be carried very far by those who came before. I think of my grandfathers, who were organizers with the UMWA, my union. I think of my father, who was a 44-year miner and an officer in our great union. I think of my union brothers and sisters who showed me the ropes, who taught me about life and unionism, who stood strong with me and for me and with me when I was too young to even know what it meant to stand.

All of us—all of us here—are very, very fortunate, even lucky, because we have all of this. We have these unions of the AFL-CIO, this legacy. And it's a gift. It's a gift that we can only repay by giving it all and more to those who come along with us

and after us. That's why we're building a stronger, broader, labor movement.

You see, we have a responsibility to lift others up and to give to those in need in this generation and future generations what has already been given to us, and more.

See, brothers and sisters, tonight in America, a child will be going to sleep with a stomach aching with hunger. And right now, a young person with not enough education and no hope of a job is gearing up to break the law. Right now a proud but scared college graduate is wondering how on earth she'll pay her college loans. Right now a hard-working immigrant who has done nothing wrong but seek a better life is sitting behind bars waiting to be deported.

Right now a father is falling out of the middle class, facing the fact that he can't earn enough to raise the family the way he wants. And a mother is struggling under the weight of life as a minimum wage earner right now.

The question is: "Who will speak for them? Who will fight for them?" And the answer is, we will. We will be the movement that America needs us to be, because we must speak for all of those and each and every person who gets up and makes this country run every single day. *(Applause)*

You see, right now, brothers and sisters, we will reach our brothers and sisters, our working families, our communities, right where they are. So that every kid can get a fair shake for an excellent education and a good job, so that we can eliminate the mass incarceration that stunts the lives of so many families and costs our society and our people so dearly. So that we can all share in the prosperity that we create.

My friends, we're a nation of immigrants. Immigrants are vital to the American dream, and we must walk with today's immigrants every step of the way to comprehensive immigration reform with protections of workers' rights, including a real and a workable path to citizenship for every last one of those immigrants.

You see, we're a nation of working people, and together we'll stand tall. We'll lift each other up until we rise as one and we speak as one because we are one people, one movement, working together, fighting together, building together. Together we will march in solidarity to take back from the corporations and make it a nation once again of the people, by the people and for the people.

That's the future that we can have and will have and must have. That's the nation that we live for and reach for and strive for. Brothers and sisters, we will not stop until we can say without any doubt that America works for the people who work. That's why we're here together and that's why we call ourselves the AFL-CIO. We will not be denied until that kind of country is in our hands.

Thank you very much. God bless you. *(Standing ovation)*

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SHULER: All right. As per usual, I get to close out the session with the riveting announcements.

OK. So anybody ready for a ball game? *(Cheers and applause)*

I didn't hear you. Any baseball fans out there? *(Cheers and applause)*

Buses are loading on Figueroa Street outside the South Hall lobby.

Thanks for those who returned baseball tickets that they couldn't use. We now have availability for those who still want them. You can pick them up at registration

on your way to the buses if you're still interested in going to the game.

But before you go, please note that the Executive Council will meet in executive session tomorrow morning at 7:15 a.m. in Room 304, Room 304 at 7:15 a.m., Executive Council members.

The convention is now adjourned until 8:30 tomorrow morning. Thanks everybody.

(At 5:31 p.m., Tuesday, September 10, 2013, the convention was recessed, to reconvene at 8:30 a.m., September 11, 2013.)

FOURTH DAY

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 2013



MORNING SESSION

The convention was called to order at 8:35 a.m., Vice President Schaitberger presiding.

9/11 REMEMBRANCE

VICE PRESIDENT HAROLD A. SCHAIBERGER, International Association of Fire Fighters: Everyone in this room, indeed, everyone in this great country who was alive at the time will always remember that morning 12 years ago today, September 11, 2001, a day that will live in infamy; a day when the workplaces of pilots and flight attendants were turned into weapons controlled by terrorists; a day when police officers, EMS workers, building trades men and women, office, restaurant and service workers had their workplaces turned into a deadly battlefield.

Almost 3,000 lives—600 union members in all among the dead; 343 of those were fire fighters, members of our great union, this IAFF.

Thousands still struggle with the effects of the aftermath, not just with the memories but sick from the lethal dust to which they were exposed in weeks and months of rescue and recovery work that followed the attacks. America's labor movement honored them by working together to pass the 9/11 Health and Compensation Act, the Zadroga bill, so those exposed to the toxins at Ground Zero receive the medical monitoring, testing and treatment they deserve—and so the families of those who succumb to their illnesses receive the compensation that they need to live.

Today, brothers and sisters, we honor those we lost. We pray for those still suffering. And while we continue to rebuild, we commit to fight like hell for the living by working together for safer jobs and a stronger and more secure nation.

Would you please stand for a moment of silence.

...The delegation observed a moment of silence.

SCHAIBERGER: Thank you. We will never forget. *(Applause)*

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT TEFERE GEBRE: The convention will now come to order.

Thank you, Harold, for that remembrance.

Now I would like to ask Bruce Smith for the Credentials Report. Bruce.

REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE (Resumed)

VICE PRESIDENT BRUCE R. SMITH, Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics and Allied

Workers: Thank you and good morning. My name is Bruce Smith. I'm a proud 41-year member and the international president of the Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers International Union.

When we've had expressions during the week about seasoned and things, I think we can proudly say that we are a seasoned international union, because in 2012 we celebrated being a union for 170 years. *(Applause)*

Since the Credentials Committee last reported, four additional delegates and one additional alternate whose credentials had previously been approved by the Credentials Committee have registered.

In addition, in the interest of full participation at this convention, the committee has approved the credentials of one alternate delegate whose credentials were received late.

The Credentials Committee recommends the additional delegates and alternates be seated. The complete list of delegates and alternates is being submitted for the record at this time.

On behalf of the committee, I move adoption of the Credentials Committee report.
...The motion was seconded by several unidentified delegates.

GEBRE: It's moved and seconded, the report of the Credentials Committee. Is there any discussion?

The question is on the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee.

Those in favor of this report, please report by saying aye.

Those opposed, please report by saying no.

The Credentials Committee report is adopted.

This morning we will hear from the Resolutions Committee on education issues and learn more about the Philadelphia situation.

The Committee on Shared Prosperity in the Global Economy will be back to lead our discussions about commonsense economics education. The Resolutions Committee will address accountability at the state and local levels of our movement, and then we will hear the report of the Finance Committee.

After that we will take up three resolutions impacting jobs and two health care resolutions.

PRESIDENT RICHARD L. TRUMKA: Now I want to call on Leo Gerard to continue the report from the Committee on Shared Prosperity in the Global Economy. Leo.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE 2: THE COMMITTEE ON SHARED PROSPERITY IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY (Resumed)

RESOLUTION NO. 8 Global Organizing

VICE PRESIDENT LEO W. GERARD, United Steelworkers: Thanks, Rich. Before we take up our next resolution on global organizing, I'd like to share with you this brief video on the importance of global organizing for our movement and for our global

labor movement and our friends in the global economy.

Please play the video.

...A video presentation was shown to the delegation. (Applause)

GERARD: I want to invite a key partner whose union and campaign you saw highlighted in the video. Our union, the USW, is proud to be a partner with Edwin Cisco, the general secretary of the Firestone Agriculture Workers Union of Liberia, FAWUL. For many years the USW and FAWUL have partnered to build power for workers in both our countries along the supply chain of Bridgestone/Firestone.

You see, our Liberian brothers and sisters actually tapped the material that it used to make many of the tires that we drive on, many of the tires that we purchase in our own country.

Edwin worked as a child—Edwin worked as a child, let me remind you—on Firestone's plantation, and committed himself to building FAWUL, and fighting for the rights of workers in the rubber industry and beyond.

FAWUL represents the thousands of Liberian rubber workers whose hard labor creates the profits that Bridgestone/Firestone passes on to its shareholders and upper management.

Edwin, thank you for all you do. Thank you for you the work that you do. Thank you for standing up for workers, not only in Liberia, but around the world.

Thank you, Brother. Your turn at the mike. *(Applause)*

EDWIN CISCO FAWUL

Thank you, President Trumka. Thank you, Brother Gerard.

Brothers and sisters, I bring you solidarity greetings from FAWUL, the Firestone Agricultural Workers Union of Liberia.

We know firsthand the power of global solidarity and the other needs to organize across the supply chains of multinational companies, that we can build power for workers both in our own country, the United States and worldwide.

FAWUL represents 6,500 workers at the Bridgestone/Firestone plantation in Liberia. For more than 80 years our workers were subject to extreme exploitation. Child labor was a part of life, and we were denied decent housing, educational opportunities and adequate health care.

But we were determined to change our history. Working closely with our allies at the United Steelworkers and the AFL Solidarity Center, as well as the Stop Firestone Campaign under the direction of the International Labor Rights Forum, we have succeeded. *(Applause)*

Through organizing of strategic strikes, we demanded and won a reduction in a quota for rubber tappers, the construction of more and better houses, schools and clinics, and most important of all, eliminated child labor. *(Applause)*

Five years ago, 4,000 workers in the Firestone plantation signed a historical collective bargaining agreement. Since then, we have negotiated two more contracts improving wages and conditions for workers, and our membership has grown.

The last contract required Firestone to provide equipment to transport latex rather than forcing workers to carry 150-pound loads on their shoulders.

Our members and the families were tear-gassed, our activists were killed and our leaders were beaten. But we never backed down—(*Applause*)—knowing that we had the power of international solidarity on our side.

Today, we stand strong. Our labor movement is on the march, securing organizing victories at other national mining companies, including at ArcelorMittal, and an emerging oil palm company with investors from Malaysia, Great Britain, Indonesia and China.

With so much interest from foreign companies to invest in Liberia, unions have an opportunity to build on FAWUL's success.

As one of the largest and strongest unions in Liberia, FAWUL is working tirelessly to organize other workers and gain more collective bargaining coverage for more workers, as well as support, and they propose new improvements in the Liberian labor law called Decent Work Bill.

We must expand our vision and press forward, creating solidarity without borders. Building union power must be rooted in the renewed commitment to global bargaining, wherever workers from Guatemala to Liberia to Alabama to Indonesia will have a seat at the table.

By pursuing innovative and creative new strategies for cross-border organizing, we can assure our workers' rights are respected up and down the supply chain of multinational employers.

Support solidarity. Thank you very much. (*Standing ovation*)

GERARD: Thank you, Edwin. Everything that he does builds real power.

I want to take the liberty of being in the chair to apologize because of my mistake. I really should have brought to the attention of our committee another hero, Napoleon Gomez of the Mexican Mining and Metal Workers Union. (*Applause*)

I hope you'll indulge me because I think you need to know his story, because that's a NAFTA partner.

On February the 19th, in 2006, there was a coal mine explosion; 63 miners got buried. In less than two weeks, the Mexican government and the mining company sealed the mine after only recovering two bodies.

The president of that union, Napoleon Gomez, called it industrial homicide. At that time Vicente Fox, the president of Mexico, called the governor of the state in which the mine was and told him to arrest Napoleon. The governor said, "Under what circumstances?"

He said, "Arrest him, and then I'll tell you."

That governor called Napoleon and gave him a head start.

Our union got him out of Mexico and brought him to Albuquerque. We were concerned that he would "get disappeared," as you remember the times then. After a few days we got him out of Albuquerque and we brought him to Vancouver, Canada.

The Mexican government has brought charges against Napoleon five separate times for the same allegations, and each time the courts dismissed those. On one

occasion the court said it even appeared that the government's documents were fraudulent.

Napoleon has been re-elected five times by his members in exile. He runs his union by video conference, and employers come from Mexico to Napoleon and negotiate collective agreements. And if we want to talk about trans-border global solidarity, let me say to you, with the United Steelworkers and the UAW helping Napoleon and his union organize, in the last year they organized close to 8,000 members into their union. *(Applause)*

They are negotiating wage increases that are double and triple what the Mexican government "recommends." *(Applause)*

Hang on.

Yet—yet, when we tried to get Napoleon a visa to come to the AFL-CIO award ceremony last year for the Meany-Kirkland humanitarian award, the American government denied Napoleon a visa on national security.

Now, I don't know how a president that stands up for his workers and organizes new members, a president that stands up for his workers and negotiates wage increases, a president that stands up for his workers and demands that the price of copper that you sell from Mexico and the price of copper you send anywhere else in the world shouldn't mean that Mexican miners get paid less. I don't know why you deny him a visa.

I would encourage all of you to get a copy of his book called "The Collapse of Dignity." If you want to see another hero like Edwin, read the book about Napoleon Gomez.

Brother Chairman, on behalf of the committee, I move the motion on "Global Organizing." *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that the resolution be adopted. Is there discussion? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

RONALD AULT, Metal Trades Department: Good morning. I'm the president of the Metal Trades Department, AFL-CIO, and a proud member of the Fighting Machinists and Operating Engineers. *(Applause)*

I rise to strongly support Resolution 8. Let me give you a quickie. We're embroiled in a campaign in Mobile, Alabama, with a multinational corporation, Austal. Austal builds ships for the U.S. Navy. It's a foreign-owned Australian company. It is an anti-union company. It has a long history of union suppression, not only in the United States, but also in Australia. It's with the cooperation of the Australian labor movement that we're working to organize the workers at Austal shipyard in Mobile, Alabama.

We need this resolution. The workers in Austal on Day 1, when we started the card-signing program in a traditional NLRB process, fired the very first organizer—in-plant organizer—and stole all of the signed authorization cards.

Prior to the Metal Trades taking this campaign, the Sheet Metal Workers and the Machinists had run two previous campaigns. They had the exact same issues with this employer.

I want to thank President Trumka, Arlene Holt Baker particularly, and all of the AFL-CIO for all the help they've given us at Austal, particularly Keith Maddox, who is heading up the campaign with Fred McKenzie. Great people, great ideas, but we need this resolution, and I urge adoption. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Ron. Delegate at mike 2.

DENNIS WILLIAMS, UAW: Thank you, Brother. I'm the secretary-treasurer of the UAW. *(Applause)*

I rise in support of Resolution 8 on global organizing. In a global economy where capital is mobile, product is mobile and corporations seek to exploit workers, we cannot allow companies to pit one group of workers against another. Simply put, companies act globally; workers and their unions must also do the same.

Simply put, we are very painfully aware that the major international auto companies that have plants in the United States respect collective bargaining rights in many other nations but not here. Our sister unions around the world are joining in our fight to demand freedom to organize here in the United States, where labor laws are among the weakest in the world. We are fighting to assist workers in Mexico and elsewhere who are struggling for the right to form independent unions.

As this resolution rightly states, the right to organize a union is a fundamental human right. Unions provide a voice for working men and women. Unions provide a path to the middle class and a path out of poverty. All unions and all progressives must join hands around the globe to establish this principle for all time, for all nations and for all people.

Thank you, Brother. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Dennis. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

BEN DAVIS, USW: Thank you, Mr. President. I rise in support of this resolution. In 1975, workers in Mexico earned on average one-third of what manufacturing workers earned in the United States. Today, that ratio is six to one. That is not because wages have risen in our country. It's because of the policies of the Mexican government, which we see around the world, to drive down the wages of manufacturing workers.

That wage gap—and in fact, in China, the Mexican workers are now lower than Chinese manufacturing workers on average. That wage gap, which has been growing, has to be closed. That can only be closed in one of two ways; either our wages are going to go down or the Mexican wages are going to go up. I don't think there's any question in this room which way we have to go.

That's why this resolution is so important. It's critical that we build on the initiatives that have been taken by Sharan Burrow in her presidency at the ITUC, to build organizing capacity. It's critical that we give the resources to the AFL-CIO global organizing team and support all of our affiliates in these efforts and these campaigns.

Mr. President and delegates, I ask for your support for this motion. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Ben. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

VICE PRESIDENT LARRY COHEN, Communications Workers of America: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Next to me is Josh Coleman, CWA, but more importantly a member of the TU, a new organization that we formed in this country with ver.di, a 2-million-member union in Germany.

The AFL-CIO, the ITUC have been with us in this battle, as you saw in that video, for three years. Rich himself has stood with these workers.

Josh worked at a call center in Wichita, Kansas, a T-Mobile call center. He's a symbol and a leader of this new labor movement.

Like so many others who stand up in this country to organize and fight back, Josh was fired months ago. Charges are filed at the National Labor Relations Board, and we will follow up on that.

What's different? Why is Josh standing here with me? Because across Germany, our partners, not just the top tier of the union, 2-million-member union, but thousands of members at Verdi, have worn shirts that say "I am Josh Coleman." Thousands of them. *(Applause)*

And because of ver.di, Josh has spoken at the shareholders meeting of the giant multinational Deutsche Telekom.

This is a new movement we're building. We have the privilege of supporting working-class heroes like Josh, whether from Wichita, Kansas, or anywhere else. And he continues to organize, and more than a thousand T-Mobile workers in this country have joined this union, supported by thousands in Germany.

In the case of his call center, their partner call center is in Dortmund. In Nashville, the call center is partnered with Dusseldorf. In Charleston, South Carolina, they're partnered with Berlin. And on and on.

And so this new movement of global solidarity is way beyond resolution passing—although we rise in support of this one—it's workers in each country standing up, fighting back and letting their employers know that we are all connected. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

The question is on the adoption of Resolution 8. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

Those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no.

Resolution 8 is adopted. *(Applause)*

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 8

Global Organizing

WE ARE PART OF THE global labor movement and have an important role to play in it to improve workers' rights, and working conditions and terms of employment for all. Working with our sisters and brothers in unions—and those who want to be in unions—we have much to learn and some things to teach. We cannot limit our work or our dreams to the nation's borders.

Corporate-driven globalization continues to threaten the rights of workers worldwide. Globally, workers face stagnant or shrinking wages, weaker social protections and greater job insecurity. As multinational corporations employ more of the global workforce and increase their power, workers and the labor movement face continuing attacks and challenges.

Globalization reaches beyond private enterprise production, manufacturing and employment into such traditional public services as education, health care, transport and communications, to the detriment of the people and communities who rely on them, the accessibility and quality of service, and the professional and working conditions of the direct providers of such services. Characterized by pursuit of profit and the stripping away of professionalism and collective voice and representation for public employees, global privatization leaves in its wake inequality, substantially reduced funding and resources for those who need them most, disenfranchised communities, unaccountable decision making, and a general abdication of government responsibility and accountability for the provision of vital public services.

Globally, only 7% of the formal workforce is unionized into independent unions. Our labor movement nationally and globally has to focus on raising that number. As American workers in a global economy, our lives and struggles are connected to workers across the world. The global workplace connects us across borders and around the world. Steelworkers in Bahia, Brazil, work for the same multinational as their counterparts in Beaumont, Texas. Woodworkers in Danville, Va., are part of the same global workplace as furniture makers in Sweden. Workers sewing clothes in Vietnam are linked to their counterparts selling those clothes in retail stores. Telecommunication workers in Charleston, S.C., work for the same multinational as their German counterparts. Teachers and education workers in the United States, Chile, Ghana, New Zealand, South Korea, the United Kingdom and across the world share the same struggles to preserve and improve public education as the engine of democracy and economic growth. The interconnectedness of workers globally requires increased education regarding globalization and the impact on workers.

In the United States, it is all too common for corporations to take advantage of weak labor laws and promote an anti-worker and anti-union culture. Multinational corporations with headquarters in Europe, Japan, Korea, Brazil and other countries often come to the United States with the practice of respect for workers' right to organize and collectively bargain. Unfortunately, once in the United States they often adopt the worst practices modeled by U.S. corporations, including union busting, fear and intimidation of workers and firings and reprisals for workers who try to organize and join a union. Despite adhering to higher worker rights standards in their own countries, these multinational corporations take the United States' low road model for worker rights. We will work collectively with U.S. corporations and multinationals that adhere to a high standard of worker rights and strongly campaign against those that undermine workers' rights and decent working conditions. As part of the global labor movement, we must work with our partners

to ensure that the U.S.-led anti-union model does not become the corporate model around the world.

Given the changing global economy and the strategies used by multinational corporations to degrade work and workers' rights, we commit to building strategic alliances with unions and partners worldwide. We will ensure that ILO core labor standards, including the right to freedom of association, will be the foundation for strong national labor laws that are effectively enforced. We will fight for decent work and against the growing use of informal work arrangements that undermine worker rights and good working conditions. Global supply chains require increased research capacity to understand how work is organized globally, how work moves from place to place, and the strategies needed to build worker power from the community level to the global workplace.

Our work with the global labor movement strengthens our organizing capacity at the community, national and global levels. By developing a shared analysis of global supply chains and the threats facing workers worldwide, we can develop effective, strategic campaigns that increase our ability to organize in our workplaces. We commit to working with the global labor movement to develop joint global bargaining strategies and new forms of cross-border representation with workers connected by the same supply chain and working for a common multinational corporation.

Action Steps:

1. Support the collection and sharing of information on select multinationals operating in the United States, including collective bargaining agreements, effective Global Framework Agreements, European Works Council agreements and other standards applicable to the global operations of the corporations.
2. Support the collection and sharing of information between and among international unions and national and global union federations regarding the activities of multinational companies and organizations and international financial institutions in the promotion of privatization of public services and in the restriction of labor rights.
3. Promote worker-to-worker exchanges that support a greater understanding of the global labor movement and strengthen strategic organizing and campaign strategies.
4. Develop training on the structures of the global labor movement and encourage the use of innovative tools to facilitate discussions on campaigning for stronger and more effective mechanisms for implementation, application and enforcement of international labor standards throughout the world.
5. Develop new strategies to build worker and community power to defend public education and other vital public services from the negative impacts of

globalization and privatization, while ensuring a more equitable distribution of the benefits of globalization.

6. In cooperation with international and national union partners and global union federations, convene working groups, foster meetings, and develop training with respect to privatization masquerading as “reform” and the sharing of policy research and best practices for preserving and improving the quality and responsiveness of vital public-sector services.
7. Develop a network of supportive researchers and academics nationally and internationally with expertise in priority sectors and campaigns.
8. Support the ongoing training of campaigners, lead organizers and strategic researchers working on campaigns developed through the ITUC Global Organizing Academy. Send experienced trainers to both classroom and mentorship trainings on one- to two-week rotations during crucial moments of priority campaigns.

(End Resolution No. 8)

TRUMKA: Brothers and sisters, Eric Garcetti, the mayor of the great city of Los Angeles, has come by to greet and to welcome us.

Mayor Garcetti was elected this year after serving as a member and as president of the city council.

Mayor Garcetti, we look forward to working with you for good jobs, for great schools, for stronger communities and for shared prosperity. Please join me in welcoming Mayor Garcetti.

HONORABLE ERIC GARCETTI **Mayor of Los Angeles**

Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you so much, President Trumka, to all the great delegates I see before us today. Welcome to Los Angeles. I couldn't be prouder to have the House of Labor here in a city of labor as well.

I hope you've enjoyed the time you've been spending here. My great friends from all of our locals here I know showed you a good time, and hopefully you've spent very liberally in my town.

But your presence here is more important than that, not just an economic shot in the arm here, but it reinforces that this is a union town, and that L.A. is a great city in the union movement. That this city, that this state, and this country stand stronger because of your presence here today.

Los Angeles is the home of the living wage movement, superstore ordinance to stand up for retail clerks. We are a place that is organizing new workers, like *carwasheros*, a place where we have more project labor agreements with our city than anywhere in the nation. *(Applause)*

And if you're not lucky enough to be from L.A., I want you to think of this as your second home, so welcome home.

Today, as we remember the tragic events of September 11th, we also think of those Americans who rose up to answer the call in the days afterwards. It was union men and women who searched and cleared the rubble, who rebuilt New York. And today it's union men and women who stand post protecting our ports and airports, as your brothers and sisters keep trade and commerce flowing.

As we gather here today, we see signs of our economy moving forward. But now, more than ever, our fight must be for more than just jobs. It must be for good jobs. Jobs that don't just pay rent but that help you buy a home. Jobs that don't just pay the bills but that can send your children to college. Jobs that create a path to the middle class.

I don't know if you saw yesterday, but a study came out that said that 1% of Americans last year collected 19.3% of the income. And the top 10% of America collected half of all of this nation's income. To put those figures in context, that is the widest income gap that this country has seen since the Great Depression.

But if we're as strong in the ballot box as we are in this room, we will bridge that divide. If we're as united as we are today, we will rebuild our economy, not just for some of us, but for all of us. If we make our voices heard from beyond these walls across Los Angeles, across America, across the world, we will be as strong and America will be as strong, because a strong nation begins with a strong middle class.

So I'm proud to be with you here today as a partner and an ally. It's not just my personal beliefs as the grandson of two UFCW members, it's not just my own union membership as a dues-paying member of SAG-AFTRA, I know that we are here—

It's L.A., so, you know, that's one of the unions here. There they are.

It's the only way that a city and a nation can be not just great, but good again. Too often we strive to be great when what we should be striving to be is good—good to one another, good to our communities, good to our nation and good to the founding principles that we are founded on.

So in addition to taking in the sights, I hope you have seen L.A. on the move. I look forward to moving this nation forward together with you for many years to come.

Thank you, and God bless you all. (*Standing ovation*)

GEBRE: We now have the report from the Resolutions Committee, and I would like to ask Harold Schaitberger for that report. Harold.

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Resumed)

RESOLUTION NO. 37

Passing the Employment Non-Discrimination Act: Protecting America's Workers

SCHAITBERGER: Thank you, Tefere.

The first three resolutions we'll take up now were submitted by AFT. The first resolution is Resolution 37, "Passing the Employment Nondiscrimination Act: Protecting America's Workers," submitted by AFT. It calls on the AFL-CIO to redouble its support for passage of ENDA and urges all unions to join in this effort.

On behalf of the committee, I move the adoption of Resolution 37.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 37 be adopted. Is there any discussion?

Seeing none, the question then is on the adoption of Resolution 37. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

For what purpose does the delegate at mike 2 rise?

DENNIS KELLY, AFT: Delegate at microphone 2 rises in support of the resolution.

TRUMKA: Please proceed, Brother.

KELLY: ENDA is the Employment Non-Discrimination Act. It will specifically include gender identification and sexual orientation among defined discrimination prohibitions.

Now, you may not think that that's necessary, but let me tell you, in California we had a legislator once, named Briggs. He wanted to remove all of our LGBTQ union members and kick them out of teaching. We defeated him but ENDA would have made that fight unnecessary.

Ten percent of our population as a nation is LGBTQ. ENDA offers protection to 10% of Americans on the job. ENDA spells protection for 10% of our members.

In 2009, this convention committed to the passage of ENDA. Now we must put it on our political agendas and make it happen.

If we choose to forget about ENDA, we turn our backs on 10% of our membership. Print out your membership roster and strike out every tenth name. Or, to put it symbolically and more graphically, hold up your hands now. Look at your 10 fingers and decide which one you can do without.

ENDA is social justice. ENDA is right. We must make ENDA our cause. Please support Resolution 37. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

Is there another delegate at mike—there is not.

The question is on the adoption of Resolution 37. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no.

The resolution is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 37

Passing the Employment Non-Discrimination Act: Protecting America's Workers

AT THE 2009 AFL-CIO CONVENTION, delegates unanimously passed Resolution 7, "A Diverse and Democratic Labor Movement." The resolution defined a union movement that welcomes and recognizes the imperative of full inclusion. In particular, it called for increased inclusion of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) workers in our society and our movement. Among the resolution's many commitments was the following:

“The AFL-CIO supports the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) and will do all in our power to see that it passes.”

Only 17 states and the District of Columbia have laws prohibiting employment discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, and four more have laws barring employment discrimination based only on sexual orientation. Meanwhile, LGBT workers continue to face widespread discrimination and harassment in the workplace. Studies show that more than 1 in 5 LGBT workers report discrimination on the job.

For LGBT Americans, the remedy lies in ENDA, a bill that would prohibit employment discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity. ENDA does what no other law currently does: creates express protections for LGBT people in the workplace. These are similar to protections under existing federal discrimination laws that protect other classes of workers on the basis of sex, religion, race and ethnicity; ENDA would put in place uniform and comprehensive protections for LGBT workers in all 50 states.

Four years have passed since this convention made a commitment to do all in our power to see that ENDA passes. Yet little movement has been made on this vital piece of legislation—until now.

Momentum

The LGBT movement is experiencing unprecedented momentum. Last November, Maine, Maryland and Washington joined a growing group of states to pass full marriage equality. This year, Delaware, Minnesota and Rhode Island followed suit, bringing the total number of states to 13. One-third of the U.S. population now lives in a state with marriage equality.

These victories were compounded by a Supreme Court decision in late June that overturned the Defense of Marriage Act and gives same-sex couples married in states with marriage equality full protections under federal law.

An amicus brief filed, in part, by the AFL-CIO explained, “The Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), by intention and design, ensures that workers with same-sex spouses earn less money, are taxed more on their wages and benefits, and have available to them fewer valuable benefits and less economic security than their counterparts with different-sex spouses.”

The momentum of marriage equality, and the changing tide of public opinion, clears the way for the swift passage of ENDA.

Support Across Aisles and Movements

Nearly 80 percent of Americans support LGBT workplace protections, many believing that these protections already exist. This support cuts across political party affiliation, with 81 percent of Democrats, 74 percent of independents and 66 percent of Republicans supporting these protections. Catholics and seniors solidly favor these protections with 74 percent support and 61 percent support, respectively.

The most recent version of this legislation, which passed in the Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee, was introduced by Republicans and Democrats alike. The civil rights, human rights, business, religious, labor and LGBT communities are coming together in that same bipartisan spirit to make ENDA law.

Labor's Leading Voice

Throughout our history, unions, particularly the AFL-CIO and its affiliates, have been leading advocates against discrimination in the workplace, however it manifests. We were instrumental in passing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that prohibits discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex or national origin. We fought for the Equal Pay Act, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act and the Americans with Disabilities Act—which all prohibit on-the-job discrimination.

Today, we are leading the way for LGBT protections on the job. Without ENDA, the only protection many LGBT workers have is their union contracts. Union workers can be fired only with just cause and often have access to grievance procedures and arbitration. Additionally, many union contracts do what the law does not: protect workers against discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity.

The Time Is Now

Now, we must work to win freedom from discrimination for all workers—union members and nonunion workers. We have the momentum. We have the support of the American people—from both Democrats and Republicans, and from a wide array of progressive movements. The time is now.

The AFL-CIO will redouble our support for the passage of ENDA and continue this work until every worker—gay or straight, transgender or not—is treated with dignity and respect on the job. We urge all national and international unions to join in the effort to pass ENDA and to use their influence to sway those members of Congress who will be instrumental in the bill's passage. As we did in 2009, let us commit to doing “all in our power to see that it passes.”

(End Resolution No. 37)

TRUMKA: Harold.

RESOLUTION NO. 36

Addressing the Increasing Burden of Student Debt and Supporting High-Quality Public Higher Education

SCHAITBERGER: The next resolution is Resolution 36, “Addressing the Increasing Burden of Student Debt and Supporting High-Quality Public Higher Education.”

It resolves the following: To support federal legislation and policies that will help reduce the burden of student debt, increasing funding for and access to needs-based aid, and address fraud and abuse by predatory lenders and for-profit colleges.

It demands that private student loan lenders increase flexibility and repayment options.

It encourages affiliates to support state legislation and policies that will increase public investment in instruction and student support services at public colleges and universities that will decrease the financial burden for students and their families—and, to assist and encourage affiliates to support expanding federal student loan forgiveness in proportional exchange for time spent working in public service.

On behalf of the committee, I move the adoption of Resolution 36.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 36 be adopted. Is there discussion? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

SANDRA SCHROEDER, AFT: Good morning. I am on the AFT Higher Education Council.

Brothers and sisters, whether it's our children, our grandchildren or ourselves who want to go to college, the costs have grown beyond reason. It's important for you to know that these costs are not driven by compensation for faculty and staff. Well-paying jobs and higher ed have been decimated because the vast majority of faculty are forced into contingent and part-time positions for shamefully low wages.

It is an American disgrace that at the same time students pay more than ever, most of their teachers earn less than ever. The truth is that there's been a massive, ongoing disinvestment in public colleges and universities so that most of the cost of education has been shifted on the backs of students and their families. Tight-fisted legislators cut college funding because they knew they could hike tuition to make up the difference and desperate students would pay any price to improve their future. Egged on by lobbyists for corporate tax breaks and small government, they've created a system that busts recent family budgets while robbing higher education employees.

This is not what democracy looks like. In 2013, student debt exceeded \$1.2 trillion. Those dollars could have been spent on new homes and cars and goods and services that would have provided jobs for American workers.

This debt doesn't just hurt individual graduates, it hurts our economy. A college education or training is more important than ever for almost every type of work, but students, especially those from working-class families, or nontraditional students, face an impossible choice: be staggered by debt or give up your dreams.

While our states disinvest in public higher education, for-profit institutions funded by massive corporations prey on vulnerable students and veterans, leaving them with colossal debt and an often useless credential.

We call on the AFL-CIO to support these proposals that will help college borrowers responsibly manage their debt, freeing up billions to stimulate the economy and provide jobs for workers.

Brothers and sisters, the problems of education at all levels are labor issues. Education can only make this country and its citizens stronger if it's fair, affordable and accessible to all.

Not everyone needs to go to college, but everyone should have the opportunity to do so.

I ask you to support this resolution. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister.

Seeing no further debate, the question is on adoption of Resolution 36. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

Those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no. Motion carries.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 36

Addressing the Increasing Burden of Student Debt and Supporting High-Quality Public Higher Education

A COLLEGE EDUCATION has been one of the stepping stones for entering the middle class, a dream that many have worked toward for themselves and their children. Our institutions of public higher education have been there to help them fulfill this dream. Now, when the United States needs a highly educated workforce to remain competitive in the global market, it is imperative that we ensure attaining a higher education degree is equally affordable and accessible to all.

The public higher education system in the United States, from community colleges to flagship research universities, is a public good that plays a key role in everything from providing new skills and retraining opportunities for incumbent workers; to training future professionals in fields like medicine, engineering and education; to producing groundbreaking research that has improved the lives of countless Americans and provided them with economic opportunities. Public higher education benefits not only those who access it but also our communities: Studies have found that higher education leads to better health outcomes, less reliance on social safety net programs, an expanded tax base, and higher rates of civic participation and volunteerism. Unfortunately, massive and ongoing state disinvestment in our institutions of public higher education has shifted the burden of financing higher education onto the backs of students and their families through skyrocketing tuition and fees. Despite these increases in tuition, public colleges and universities are cutting academic programs, slashing the support services that are crucial to student success, and increasingly relying upon a contingent academic workforce.

Most students in postsecondary education have to rely on loans to finance their education. Outstanding student loans will exceed \$1.2 trillion in 2013. According to the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, Americans now owe more on student loans than on credit cards.

The rise of for-profit colleges has accelerated this crisis. While for-profit colleges make up only 10 percent of the total postsecondary student population, they take in 25 percent of all Pell Grants, the primary federal financial assistance program, and they produce 44 percent of the total number of student loan defaults.

Increasing numbers of students, especially low-income students and people of color, see their educational opportunities curtailed by the specter of long-term debt. Predatory lending has been rampant in higher education, just as it has been in the housing loan sector, with banks and colleges preying on young adults, many of whom have little financial literacy. This massive debt burden creates a drag nationally on our recovery from the Great Recession, while it also creates barriers for individuals to participate in the economy, preventing them from investing in homes and families, due to the drain caused by servicing these debts.

President Obama has called for an aggressive strategy to address student debt relief. Public Service Loan Forgiveness, Income-Based Repayment and other loan repayment assistance programs need to be supported to help deal with this crisis.

The AFL-CIO resolves to:

- Support legislation and policies at the federal level that will help reduce the burden of student debt by: reforming bankruptcy laws to allow student debt to be discharged through bankruptcy, requiring institutions to counsel students who have not exhausted their federal financial aid and loan options before they certify private loans, introducing refinancing options for existing loans, consolidating loan forgiveness programs into one similar to the federal Pay As You Earn Repayment Plan (which allows loan forgiveness after 20 years with monthly payments equal to 10 percent of the borrower's discretionary income), and allowing borrowers to swap private loans for federal loans with more-favorable repayment conditions and options;
- Demand that private student loan lenders increase flexibility in repayment options for borrowers of private student loans, including loan forgiveness and income-based repayment options;
- Support legislation and policies at the federal and state levels that increase funding and access to needs-based aid; simplify the process for applying for this aid; provide financial and academic support to first-generation students, low-income students and students of color; and give undocumented students who have graduated from high schools in the United States access to federal financial aid;
- Encourage its state and local affiliates to support state legislation and policies that will increase public investment in instruction and student support services at public colleges and universities, and that will decrease the financial burden for students and their families rather than restructure and prolong the burden, as policies such as "Pay It Forward" may do;

- Support legislation and policies at the federal level that will curb and eliminate the frauds and abuses practiced by predatory lending institutions and unscrupulous for-profit colleges; and
- Assist and encourage affiliates to support expanding federal student loan forgiveness in proportional exchange for time spent working in the field of public service. This would provide a stimulating effect on the states' economies, freeing hundreds of thousands of dollars per month per affected individual for increasing spending, generating economic activity and creating jobs.
(*End Resolution No. 36*)

TRUMKA: Harold.

RESOLUTION NO. 35

Reclaiming the Promise of Public Education

SCHAITBERGER: The next resolution is Resolution 35, "Reclaiming the Promise of Public Education."

We have a brief video that will give you an idea of what is happening in school districts around the country. Some of you in the room have witnessed this firsthand in your own communities.

Please turn your attention to the video screens.

...A video presentation was shown to the delegation. (Applause)

SCHAITBERGER: On behalf of the committee, I move the adoption of Resolution 35.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 35 be adopted. Is there any discussion? Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

FRANCINE LAWRENCE, AFT: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Good morning, brothers and sisters. I am an executive vice president of the American Federation of Teachers.

I'm the daughter of a Steelworker, and I hail from the Greater Northwest Ohio AFL-CIO Labor Council and the Ohio AFL-CIO, and the Toledo and Ohio Federation of Teachers.

We believe in public education because it is the means by which we help all children dream their dreams and achieve them. And we mean all children: those who have abundant advantages, those for whom every day is a struggle, those who worry about getting into a good college and affording a college education, and those who worry about their parents getting deported.

Yet, public education is under assault by people who aren't in education to make a difference but to make a buck, and those who don't want us to have the ability to stand together as a union and have a voice in the work we do. These are the people who demand and pursue austerity, polarization, privatization and de-professionalization.

Years of top-down edicts, mass school closures, privatization, test fixation with sanctions and without supports haven't moved the needle.

We are at a crucial moment, sisters and brothers, when we must reclaim the promise of public education. Not as it is today, not as it was in the past, but what public education can be to fulfill our collective obligation—our communities' obligation—to help all children succeed.

We need to reclaim the promise of public education and fight for neighborhood public schools that are safe, welcoming places for teaching and learning. We need to reclaim the promise to ensure that teachers and school support staff are well prepared, are supported, have small class sizes and time to collaborate.

We need to reclaim the promise to enable teachers to teach an engaging curriculum that includes the arts, music and sciences. We need to reclaim the promise to ensure that kids have access to wraparound services to meet their emotional, social and health needs.

Reclaiming the promise of public education will bring back the joy of teaching and learning. It's the way to make every public school a place where parents want to send their kids, teachers want to teach and children are engaged. It makes our public schools the center of community and fulfills their purpose as an anchor of our democracy and a propeller of our economy.

TRUMKA: Sister, I have to ask you to close up.

LAWRENCE: We need to stand together with parents, with students, with community to reclaim the promise of public education.

Mr. Chairman, I ask permission under Convention Rule 8 that a nondelegate, Reverend Michael Livingston, the national policy director and the director of the D.C. office of Interfaith Worker Justice, address this resolution.

TRUMKA: Permission granted.

LAWRENCE: Thank you.

MICHAEL LIVINGSTON, Interfaith Worker Justice: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am the Reverend Michael Livingston with Interfaith Worker Justice and a former president of the National Council of Churches.

I'm honored to be with you all today. I stand here as a community activist and someone who feels strongly that our public schools are the essential pathway for every child to succeed. I'm not just saying this because my wife is a public school teacher who began her career here in Los Angeles at the 6th Avenue Elementary School on Jefferson Avenue.

What kind of future can our nation expect if we don't do everything possible to give our children what they need to do well in school, in college and in the world of work? What kind of future can our nation expect if we allow school administrators and lawmakers to simply give up and outsource our public schools to the highest bidder? What kind of future can our nation expect if we turn over our public schools

to people who don't want to educate all our children and refuse to use programs that we know work because the top-ranked countries are using them?

Brothers and sisters, we just commemorated the 50th anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. If we are to realize his dream that all God's children should have an equal shot at success in life, then the moment is now to do what's right for our kids. Our nation must provide the foundation of a quality public education for all kids, not just some, and in all communities, not just those already blessed with an abundance of resources. The one God of us all requires no less of us.

I fully agree with the American Federation of Teachers that the time is now to reclaim the promise of public education. Our children can't wait any longer. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Michael. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

JORGE RAMIREZ, Chicago (Ill.) Federation of Labor and Industrial Union Council: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm president of the Chicago Federation of Labor. *(Applause)*

As our children go back to school, parents, students, teachers and paraprofessionals are facing the realities of significant cuts to our public education system that threaten our communities and the future of our country. Like most families, my parents couldn't afford to send me and my brothers and sisters to private schools. I'm a product of Chicago public schools. I attended Nathan Hale Elementary School on 61st and Melvina on the city's southwest side.

Today Nathan Hale and other Chicago public schools are facing increased pressure from school closings, teacher layoffs and budget cuts. More than 50 neighborhood schools have been shut down, the largest mass public school closing in America's history.

Some \$164 million in budget cuts to non-charter public schools have caused art, music, library service and other programs to be slashed. Some 3,800 teachers and school support staff have been laid off, taken out of the classroom where they belong.

This is not a promise we have for our children. Our children deserve an environment where they can learn, an environment that is warm in the winter and cool in the summer. An environment that doesn't include crossing gang territories to get to the classroom. Imagine for a moment if we had to sit here and deliberate over the last few days that we've been together in the middle of summer when it's hot outside, and it's even hotter inside. In the middle of winter, maybe, with snow on the ground and ice on the streets, and have it be just as cold inside as it is outside.

Imagine in our short walks from our hotel rooms to get here this morning, and every other day we've been here, that we had to worry about gang shootings because we crossed into a neighborhood that we don't belong in?

That's what we're talking about. That's the danger that you place somebody in when you ask them to go out of their neighborhood school and into a neighborhood where maybe some gang member doesn't even go to school, and thinks you don't belong here.

This week marks the one-year anniversary of the Chicago teachers union strike. *(Applause)*

In this historic event, tens of thousands of teachers stood up for their schools, for their students and for their communities. The CTU, led by President Karen Lewis, has raised the level of discourse about public education in our city and in our country.

The sad thing is that the Chicago public schools are not the only ones under siege. Public schools across the nation are under attack, as AFT President Randi Weingarten has said; none of us can be bystanders. Together we must reclaim the promise of public education for all of our children.

I recommend support of the resolution, Mr. Chairman. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

VICE PRESIDENT CECIL ROBERTS, United Mine Workers: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm president of the United Mine Workers. I come to the mike primarily to heap great praise on my brothers and sisters from the American Federation of Teachers, particularly Randi Weingarten, their national president, and Bob Brown and Judy Hale, the state leaders of the federation.

This story that I would like to tell starts in the late '50s, earlier '60s, when a young coal miner's son became fascinated with Sputnik and science and launching rockets into space. He thought he would like to be a rocket scientist—a coal miner's son who wanted to be a rocket scientist in McDowell County, West Virginia.

Many of his friends laughed at him, his parents discouraged him, but he had a public schoolteacher who said you can do this.

He went into Welch, West Virginia, which at the time was the county seat of McDowell County, and still is. He saw this gathering of people there, and he walked up. There was a young man standing on a hood of a car making a speech and not many people were listening to him. That young man happened to be John F. Kennedy.

So no one asked Senator Kennedy a question but this young coal miner who held his hand up and said, "I've got a question."

And Senator Kennedy says, "Yes, young man, what is it?"

"Can we put somebody on the moon?" And everyone laughed.

Kennedy said, "You know, I believe we can."

McDowell County, West Virginia. We used to have nearly a hundred thousand members in McDowell County. Now we have almost no members in McDowell County. Coal mining left.

McDowell County now, Mr. Chairman, is one of the poorest counties, and I believe the poorest county, in the United States. It is clearly the poorest county in West Virginia. There are 50 kids that are homeless in the school system there. Forty-six percent of the kids in McDowell County live with somebody beside their parents.

But there was an organization that moved into McDowell County called the American Federation of Teachers and created a situation called "Reconnecting McDowell County." I want to report to you today that they are being successful. I've been informed that now we have broadband in every school in McDowell County, that every middle school student in McDowell County now has a laptop. *(Applause)*

I want to stand here today and heap great praise on every public schoolteacher in America and the American Federation of Teachers. They should be applauded for what they have done. We ought to stand with them, fight with them, march with them, and win with them. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair calls on the delegate at mike 1.

ERNEST LOGAN, American Federation of School Administrators: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am the national treasurer of the American Federation of School Administrators, president of Local 1, the Council of School Supervisors and Administrators in New York City.

I stand here in support of Resolution 35, "Reclaiming the Promise of Public Education." I know after 40 years in education that it was because of public education that I was allowed to move from a child living in the projects in Brooklyn on public assistance and rise to the highest level in my union. It's because of public education. Public education; there are thousands—in the millions—of children who need to have that same opportunity.

I stand before you today because, brothers and sisters, it is about us ensuring public education. When we are not part of the solution, we are the problem. We need to insist that our local officials, legislators or leaders, that we support this.

I stand as a supervisor and administrator saying the AFT is right on point. We are going to reclaim the promise of public education. I ask adoption of this resolution. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Is there another delegate at mike 1? Thank you.

Seeing no further debate, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 35.

All those in favor of the motion, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no.

Wait a second. Let's do that one more time. We can do better than that. Right?

(Applause)

All those in favor of the motion, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no.

Motion carries. Thank you. *(Applause)*

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 35

Reclaiming the Promise of Public Education

HIGH-QUALITY PUBLIC EDUCATION is an economic necessity, an anchor of democracy, a moral imperative and a fundamental civil right. Without the foundation a strong education provides, our other rights can never be fully realized. We believe in and stand ready to fight for public education because it is the means by which we help all children dream their dreams and achieve them.

All children—those who have abundant advantages, and those for whom every day is a struggle; those who worry about getting into a good college, and those who worry about their parents getting deported—deserve the opportunity to succeed.

The people who work in schools—teachers, support staff, administrators—help students live lives of great purpose and potential by instilling essential knowledge and skills, including critical reasoning, problem-solving and the ability to work with others, and by promoting civic participation.

We are at a critical moment when we must reclaim the promise of public education—not as it is today or was in the past, but what public education can and should be if we are to fulfill our collective obligation to help all children succeed. Americans across the country are waking up to the fact that decades of top-down edicts, mass school closures, privatization, attacks on collective bargaining, high-stakes student testing with sanctions instead of support for teachers, and other “market-oriented” education experiments haven’t moved the needle—at least not in the right direction.

Reclaiming the promise of public education means fighting to ensure that neighborhood schools are safe, welcoming places for teaching and learning—and for the students, families and people who work there. Reclaiming the promise means ensuring that teachers are well-prepared, supported, and given time to collaborate with their colleagues. Reclaiming the promise means enabling educators to teach an engaging curriculum that includes art and music and the sciences. Reclaiming the promise means making sure that kids have access to wraparound services that meet their emotional, social and health needs. We need to ensure that schools are accessible to families, and that parents are welcomed and supported as partners in the education of their children. Finally, we need to ensure that we keep the “public” in public education, and support schools as fundamental components of our communities’ infrastructure.

Taken together, these actions reflect our prescription for ensuring that all kids have the opportunities they need and deserve. This vision may look different community by community, but it has a few common elements. *Reclaiming the promise will bring back the joy of teaching and learning.* It’s the way to make every public school a place where parents want to send their kids, teachers want to teach and children want to learn. It makes our public schools the center of the community and fulfills their purpose as an anchor of our democracy and a propeller of our economy.

Our movement can be the centerpiece of this vision for our children. Not only are the individuals who work in schools and the education system members of AFL-CIO-affiliated unions, but union members are also parents, grandparents, school volunteers and active participants in their communities. In short, all of us are connected to public education. The AFL-CIO is uniquely positioned to join with our affiliates, parents, community and civic leaders.

Therefore, we resolve as a labor movement to meet the needs of all children and working families by:

- Fighting to ensure that all children have the opportunity to attend great schools that provide a safe and welcoming environment in their own neighborhood, and

uniting local labor bodies with parent groups and others to oppose mass school closings that seem to target our most impoverished communities. We will stand together to oppose the failed strategies of so-called market-oriented reforms of privatization, de-professionalization and profit seeking, and instead stand in support of efforts to fix, rather than close, schools; work for safe schools and communities by backing initiatives to reduce gun violence and prevent bullying; and advocate for environmentally healthy buildings that are equipped to support the integration of technology in instruction.

- Educating union members and working families about the importance of engaging curriculum by promoting a greater understanding of the Common Core State Standards and what they mean to their children's education; mobilizing our members to advocate for implementation of the standards in a way that is fair and fully supported at the federal, state and local levels; raising awareness around the obsession with high-stakes testing and test preparation and the negative effect it is having both on students and on the quality of the overall curriculum; and expanding existing union programs that provide curriculum supports, such as Share My Lesson and First Book.
- Advocating for investment in the teaching profession to ensure that teachers are well-prepared and supported—by working for comprehensive teacher development and evaluation systems that do not deny teachers their due process; increased opportunities for ongoing professional development so they can improve their skills; and providing fair compensation systems.
- Educating our members about the role of community schools and joining with education unions and others to increase the number of community schools—places that bring together wraparound services to help meet the social, emotional, health and nutrition needs of students and families.
- Advocating for a comprehensive, multi-provider system that ensures voluntary access to high-quality, affordable early childhood education and care from birth forward, so our youngest children are ready to succeed when they enter school; and advocating for equitable wages for the early education workforce.
- Mobilizing our members to fight for federal, state and local legislation, policies and funding that ensure our children have the great public schools they deserve.
- Encouraging all unions to seek contract provisions that enable parents and guardians to participate fully in their children's education, including family and parental leave to attend school meetings and to volunteer in schools.

(End Resolution No. 35)

RESOLUTION NO. 52

Governor Corbett and Mayor Nutter's Attack on Philadelphia Public Education and Public Services

TRUMKA: Our next resolution, submitted by AFT, AFSCME and UNITE HERE, is Resolution 52: "Governor Corbett and Mayor Nutter's Attack on Philadelphia Public Education and Public Services."

Pennsylvania Governor Tom Corbett is spearheading a radical agenda to defund schools, slash public services and put the interests of big donors and corporations and market-based reformers ahead of the people of Pennsylvania. No place is this more evident than the city of Philadelphia.

You have before you a resolution which was approved by the Executive Council and was distributed to the delegates. It is moved and seconded to adopt Resolution 52. Is there any discussion? The chair calls on the delegate at mike 2.

MIKE FOX, AFSCME: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My name is Mike Fox. I'm a proud AFSCME member from the state of Pennsylvania. *(Applause)*

For a long time, going back to the days of Ben Franklin, the city of Philadelphia has been built on a commitment to public service and common good. City workers embody that commitment. They clear snow, they educate our children and help get them to and from school. They collect the trash. They make our water safe to drink. They police our neighborhoods, respond to fires and other emergencies, and much, much more.

But under Mayor Nutter, the commitment to public services and the people who provide them has been broken. He's been a mayor for the 1%, completely oblivious to the pain his decisions have inflicted on the families of Philadelphia. City workers have been without a contract for almost five years. In fact, the number of city workers living in poverty has doubled to four out of 10 since Nutter became mayor.

The mayor has closed schools and firehouses, cut staffing at recreation centers and libraries and drained funding from other vital public services. All the while, he's given huge tax breaks to the ultra-rich and big corporations. He's balancing the budget on the backs of children and working families.

Earlier this year Mayor Nutter even went to the state Supreme Court to impose his contract terms. This attempt to steal collective bargaining came straight from Scott Walker's playbook and could have set a dangerous precedent.

The court denied Mayor Nutter, but his request to bust unions and silence workers continues. Real leaders don't blame workers for a financial crisis they don't create. They don't ignore the sacrifices that have already been made. They don't try to get the courts to do their dirty work. And they don't sacrifice working families to the corporate elite.

Brothers and sisters, I urge your loud and energetic support for Resolution 22 and the workers of the city of Philadelphia. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

Excuse me one second. The delegate, the last speaker, urged you to pass

Resolution 22. That was Resolution 52. I'm sure he includes 52 as well. Thank you, Brother. Delegate at mike 3.

LEAIN VASHON, UNITE HERE: Thank you. I'm a 30-year member of UNITE HERE.

I rise in support of this resolution. UNITE HERE represents almost 2,000 school safety aides in Philadelphia middle schools, and they have been affected by the devastating cuts in Philadelphia.

We have another idiot politician who thinks cuts on the backs of schools and children are a right idea. Well, we disagree with that, and we stand to fully support Resolution 52, because families and children deserve a better future. They deserve to be educated in a way that's a quality education. And cuts to education and schools and music and art and science, that does not do it.

We stand in support of this resolution fully. We at UNITE HERE hope going forward that you will all support this resolution. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

TED KIRSCH, AFT: I'm the president of AFT Pennsylvania and the former president for 17 years of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers. *(Applause)*

Brothers and sisters, I'm going to ask if you went to school, would you please raise your right hand?

Come on, you can do better than that. Good.

And the reason I'm saying that is that I know if you went to school, you are going to understand what I'm about to say.

Pennsylvania Governor Corbett and the mayor of Philadelphia, Michael Nutter, have joined together in an unholy alliance. They want our members to pay for this phony crisis that they have created. They have joined together to cut resources and services to the children of Philadelphia.

Listen to the programs for our members. They want us to take a pay cut of up to 13%. They want us to work a longer day with no pay increase. They want employees to pay more for health care. And they have said that federal money, which has been promised to the city, will not be given until the union makes concessions from their present contract, trying to hold the negotiations hostage.

Now, there was a special meeting several weeks ago of our local board, and they voted to eliminate seniority. And they have been eliminating seniority and all personnel transactions since the middle of the summer.

That's what they are doing to our members. But listen to what they're doing to our students. They are eliminating school nurses. Think about that for a minute. The child who needs that daily insulin shot, the accident that occurs that nobody can plan for, and we don't have nurses to help the children.

With the elimination of school counselors, who's going to help many of our youngsters prepare those forms for college? Who deals with the crisis in the school, or the meltdown that a child has? Just this past weekend in Philadelphia there was a tragedy where a high school student and his father passed away in a swimming accident. On Monday morning there was no counselor at that school to help deal

with the grief of the students and his friends.

They've eliminated school librarians. Just think, a school without a library? They've eliminated, as you've just heard, classroom aides and hall monitors. They've eliminated art and music.

They've closed 27 neighborhood schools, creating unsafe passages from students moving from one neighborhood to another, and a previous speaker talked about some of the dangers.

By closing those schools and forcing students into other schools that are not prepared to accept them, they've created split grades. Think about a teacher that has a class of third-graders and fourth-graders—

TRUMKA: Brother Ted.

KIRSCH:—in the same classroom.

TRUMKA: Brother Ted, I'm going to have to ask you to wrap up. Your time's expired.

KIRSCH: OK. There were many other issues that are taking place in the city.

We are asking that you vote "yes" on this resolution, and that you help us reclaim the promise of public education in Philadelphia. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Ted. (*Applause*) Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

PATRICK EIDING, Philadelphia Council of the AFL-CIO: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Good morning brothers and sisters. I'm the president of the labor council in the great city of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. (*Applause*)

I also serve as secretary-treasurer to the Philadelphia Building Trade Council, and I sit on the board of the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO, and I'm the proud many-year member of the Heat and Frost Insulators of Local 14 in Philadelphia. (*Applause*)

Brothers and sisters, I rise today in support of this resolution, and I do so on behalf of over 102 local unions representing more than 150,000 union members in the city of Philadelphia.

I've been around this labor movement for a long time. I've seen us together and I've seen us drift apart. But I have never, ever, ever, seen a labor movement in Philadelphia more united than they are today. (*Cheers and applause*)

In the five years since he took office, Michael Nutter has not settled contracts with our city workers. His administration continues to offer the same tired ideas: furloughs, cost increases, pension reform and the like.

Prices for everything from bread to houses have gone up in Philadelphia in the last five years, but our city workers are further behind.

Meanwhile, Governor Corbett, he's on a mission to privatize public service across the commonwealth, from the lottery to our wine and spirit shops to our schools.

Thanks to Governor Corbett slashing \$1 billion from public education funding, including over \$300 million from Philadelphia schools, schools across Pennsylvania are starving for funds. Representatives of both the governor and the mayor who

sit on the Philadelphia School Board are silent partners as they attempt to do the destruction of the public education system.

The labor movement in Philadelphia is united because we know all these things that I've mentioned, and all their concerns listed in the resolution, are bad things. They're bad for our workers, they're bad for the students, they're bad for the residents of our great city and they're bad for our communities.

Brothers and sisters, this is not a political issue. Governor Corbett has an "R" after his name, and Mayor Nutter has a "D" after his. But when it comes to protecting schools and vital public services, they both get a big fat "F" from us. *(Cheers and applause)*

No, brothers and sisters, this is bigger than politics. Passing this resolution says to the workers, students and the residents of Philadelphia that the unions across this country care what happens to them.

Passing this resolution says to the labor movement in Philadelphia, "We've got your back, stay united." Passing this resolution sends a clear message to those elected officials across this country who would try to break our unions, balance the budgets on the backs of workers and gut essential service for our most vulnerable citizens. Remember, in 2013, we still believe in that old Wobblies axiom that an injury to one is an injury to all. We stand up and we fight back together. We are one.

Thank you. Pass this resolution. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Chair calls on the delegate at mike 2.

VICE PRESIDENT BHAIRAVI DESAI, National Taxi Workers Alliance: Good morning, President Trumka. I'm with the National Taxi Workers Alliance. I rise in strong support of this resolution.

For the members in Philadelphia of the Taxi Workers Alliance, this has been a devastating attack on our communities: 3,000 workers laid off, 24 schools closed, the elimination of seniority for employees, students being shipped around from school to school. Taxi drivers' children rely on strong public education. This is very much an issue for all of labor. Today's students are tomorrow's workers.

We have a member whose niece has—her family's already been torn apart. Her father has been unfairly incarcerated. She's being raised by her grandmother. A child that grew up with a lot of depression and was introverted, relied on her music classes, learning the violin to come out of that shell.

That program was closed down. Then she was brutally taken from the comfort of the school system where she was being raised and shipped over to another district where she knows nobody there.

Schools are their place of comfort and stability for millions of our young people. We, as a labor movement, must do everything that we can to secure the jobs for our public-sector workers and our brothers and sisters, and to stand up for the young people that are the children of our members and are the future of our movement. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister.

Brother Ted, before I call the resolution, you asked how many people went to grade school? How many people went to public school? Well, some of us, and I'm not going to mention any names, liked school so much, we stayed in fifth and sixth and seventh grade two years instead of one. (*Laughter*) I'm not going to mention any names.

The question is on the adoption of Resolution 52. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no.

Motion carries. Resolution 52 is adopted. (*Applause*)

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 52

Governor Corbett and Mayor Nutter's Attack on Philadelphia Public Education and Public Services

THOSE WHO WORK IN PHILADELPHIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS, represented by the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, and those who provide the city's vital public services, represented by AFSCME District Councils 33 and 47, do so out of a sense of mission: they want to help kids, they want to care for those who are most vulnerable, and they want to ensure that the vital public services that keep our city moving are reliably provided to build a better Philadelphia for all.

But educators and public employees are under attack from forces intent on rolling back the promise of equal opportunity, basic fairness and responsive government.

Governor Corbett and his legislative partisans are leading the attack. While extending \$2.4 billion in tax breaks to corporate special interests and political donors, including expanded favors for energy and telecommunications companies, Corbett eliminated assistance to 69,000 financially distressed Pennsylvanians suffering from illness, disability or domestic violence; cut environmental funding by 20 percent and slashed more than \$1 billion from public education, including more than \$304 million from Philadelphia's schools.

Right now, Governor Corbett is holding hostage \$45 million in federal assistance targeted for Philadelphia schools. Holding back the money is part of his plan to boost his sagging poll numbers by manufacturing a crisis in which schools are starved, children are denied the education they deserve and teachers are blamed for the disruption.

Instead of standing up to Corbett and demanding the federal funds Philadelphia schools were promised and desperately need, Mayor Michael Nutter has joined Corbett in scapegoating hardworking public employees and educators, while continuing tax breaks for large corporations.

And even though Philadelphia teachers have offered substantial contract concessions by forgoing pay increases and making changes to health care benefits,

the mayor dismisses these concessions and continues his push to eliminate the ability of educators to speak up for public schools and fight for the things students need—like a safe and welcoming school to attend, with a rich curriculum and extracurricular activities, where teachers have the support they need in order to improve their instruction and students receive the services they need in order to be ready to learn.

When Mayor Nutter wanted the support of city workers, he said he would work to negotiate a fair contract for public employees and improve public services for all Philadelphians. AFSCME District Councils 33 and 47 have demonstrated flexibility in working with the city, but the mayor has not kept his word. Instead, Nutter has focused on advancing the Corbett agenda, attacking public employees, cutting services and granting tax breaks to big corporations.

City workers in Philadelphia have now gone five years without contracts or wage increases, have paid significant increases for their health care and suffered relentless attacks from Mayor Nutter's administration. Under Mayor Nutter, the number of city workers living in poverty has doubled.

(End Resolution No. 52)

TRUMKA: Now, remember the trickle-down theory? The theory that tax cuts for the rich and program cuts for the rest of us somehow trickle down so that we all benefit? Right. We all believe in the tooth fairy, too.

That same economic sleight of hand keeps getting repackaged, renamed and pushed on us, but the basic idea never changes.

There's austerity and there's my personal favorite—get this—expansionary contraction.

Now, it doesn't matter what kind of fancy terms get slapped on these ideas, the result is always the same: More convenient excuses to give money to corporations and the rich at the expense of working people. They're all the same and, quite frankly, none of them has or will work.

It's time for us to put a stop to this nonsense. Now, we can change the game by stepping up our efforts to educate union members and all working people on basic, kitchen table, common sense economics.

That's what Resolution 7 is all about, the conversation about economics that we need to have and it will help us do it.

You see, it's our job to apply the lessons of history and working family analysis to every single idea, every proposed economic plan, every scheme to change our taxes and our trade agreements and our basic investments in the future.

Now, we can cut through the baloney. Economics isn't as hard as some people would like us to believe, and we can explain and put it forward in policies that do work—ideas like large-scale investments in education, in infrastructure, in job training and the green jobs that come with sustainable development. And we can explain the role of collective bargaining in our economy. When a contract locks in a share of a company's value for working people, everyone in America shares in that benefit, because our dollars fuel the American economy better than anything else.

You see, investment works. Collective bargaining works. And we'll tell that story again and again and again to our members and to our friends and to the public at large.

To tell us more about Resolution 7, I'm going to ask Jorge Ramirez to report for the Committee on Shared Prosperity in the Global Economy. Jorge.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE 2: THE COMMITTEE ON SHARED PROSPERITY IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY (Resumed)

RESOLUTION NO. 7

The Conversation About Economics We Need to Have

RAMIREZ: Thank you, President Trumka.

One of the many hundreds of ideas we received from in-person and online listening sessions this summer was this: Something we should do is put together a simple economic analysis that can be used in print and media, which includes global competition. Economics is based purely on profit. These are the consequences.

That's what we propose doing in Resolution 7, "The Conversation About Economics We Need to Have." Resolution 7 spells out that although workers create all wealth, we don't control the economy we create. Corporations, the wealthy and the governments they influence have been writing the rules and corporate-dominated media shape the story. But it's time for us to write the story, a story about how working people can build economic and political power together through a strong labor movement and through collective bargaining.

The AFL-CIO will develop a comprehensive economics education program—Common Sense Economics—that will provide educational tools we can use to educate one another, union members and allies—in all of our workplaces, union halls, online and even at home.

Common Sense Economics will feature modules that can be shared worker to worker. The curriculum will cover the roots of our economic crisis but, drawing on Yale Professor Jacob Hacker's work on prosperity economics, will also look ahead to how we can build an economy based on shared prosperity, with full employment, economic security, democracy—and the critical role played by an organized workforce in achieving these goals.

We will use these sessions to do more than just educate. Every session will connect to local, state and national struggles that participants can actually join.

Resolution 7 commits us to work with our members and community allies to develop this accessible curriculum, to share it at every level of our movement and with allies and to conduct "train the trainer" sessions for local union leaders and community partners so they can lead conversations about how we can build a sustainable and a shared prosperity.

You can get a preview of Common Sense Economics at today's action session, which will be a demonstration of a basic module—and also an opportunity to hear your ideas for what should be included in our curriculum and the best ways to deliver Common Sense Economics to millions.

Knowledge is power. The economy is not the weather. We can do more than talk about it. We can change it.

Common Sense Economics is a key tool to help workers get informed and fight back.

Before we begin our debate on this resolution, I would like to call on Katie Quan, associate chair of the UC Berkeley Labor Center, and Sarita Gupta, executive director of Jobs with Justice. Katie.

KATIE QUAN

Associate Chair, UC Berkeley Labor Center

Thank you. My name is Katie Quan, and I'm the associate chair of the UC Berkeley Labor Center, and the co-director at the International Center for Joint Labor Research at Sun Yat Sen University in China. I'm also a member of the American Federation of Teachers. *(Applause)*

I am delighted, actually thrilled that this committee is recommending an update of the Common Sense Economics curriculum, and I rise to support it. Why?

Because Common Sense Economics will help us implement the resolutions on the global economy that this convention has just passed.

Common Sense Economics will serve to link workers' everyday experiences to the big picture. Lots of people don't realize how many connections at work and in their lives they have to the global economy. But mapping exercises in this curriculum can help plumbers understand how they're related to workers in China who make prefabricated pipes, and nurses who work side by side with foreign nurses can learn about their relationship to each other.

Common Sense Economics can go beyond talking about those relationships to showing what power relationships exist in the global economy, how supply chains operate, how global institutions operate, and so forth.

Common Sense Economics can also show workers what kind of fightbacks exist in the global economy—how workers in Liberia, for example, are fighting back.

The second thing about Common Sense Economics is that it will provide an analytical framework that will help workers make the right choice. Unfortunately, too often, some of us have been making the wrong choices. We've been for decades blaming women or blacks or immigrants or foreigners for stealing our jobs.

More recently, some people have been blaming teachers and other public-sector workers for high salaries, Cadillac benefits and ruining the economy.

This misinformation has kept us apart. But Common Sense Economics will bring together people with the right information.

Education can be empowering, but only if linked to action. And Common Sense Economics will help us devise the right strategies that can mobilize our memberships.

For all these reasons, I rise to support this resolution and I want to thank President Trumka for his many years of leadership in this area. *(Applause)*

SARITA GUPTA

Executive Director, Jobs with Justice

Good morning. My name is Sarita Gupta, and I'm the executive director of Jobs with Justice and American Rights at Work. *(Applause)*

Thank you. For 25 years Jobs with Justice has been a key partner on labor's most critical fights, and I'm proud and honored to be here this morning to say a few words in support of this resolution.

Given the austerity economics that we, as a nation, are steeped in, it is critical for labor and community partners to come together to build an alternative narrative—the real narrative of what everyday people are facing today.

We need a program of mass education about the economy. This is why I am excited about the relaunch of Common Sense Economics.

This is our opportunity to develop and push out a message of shared prosperity to both union workers and community members. Hundreds—just imagine—hundreds, thousands of Common Sense Economics sessions that bring together union members, community members, students, young people, people of faith and many others in our communities to discuss and learn about the economy from our perspective.

We all know that we need to build closer ties with our community partners in order to innovate new solutions and reach the scale we need for lasting change. The Common Sense Economic sessions can help to facilitate the deepening of these sets of relationships so that we are connecting beyond leaders and literally weaving together the experiences and analyses of the members of our organizations.

The act, the simple act of developing the curriculum and organizing a session in itself, will provide an opportunity for groups to work together, learn from one another, challenge one another, and ultimately vision together. This is critical to overcome historic divisions between labor and community.

Common Sense Economics sessions can also help community partners better understand the truth of what is happening to workers in our communities, creating more opportunities for real, lasting connections and joint struggle.

Look, working people are looking for answers to our most basic problems, answers that have the power of a movement in motion behind it to propel us to a better life. Common Sense Economics, coupled with real campaigns and struggles, can fuel our movement forward and help us reach working people beyond our existing bases.

I'm excited about the potential for labor and community partnerships through Common Sense Economics.

We can build a shared vision of our economy.

We can develop a narrative that counters the austerity agenda and promotes growth.

And we can weave together the fabric of our movement at every level—globally, nationally and locally—through joint education, action and our conviction that we can and must change our economy to better our lives.

So we at Jobs with Justice support the relaunch of Common Sense Economics because we believe a better world is possible when working people across unions in all kinds of communities can come together to imagine alternatives to our current economic conditions and commit to turning the tide for working people. We must build a real movement for economic democracy, and we look forward to building this movement with all of you. Thank you. *(Applause)*

RAMIREZ: Thank you, Katie and Sarita.

Brothers and sisters, on behalf of the Committee on Shared Prosperity in the Global Economy, I move adoption of Resolution 7.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 7 be adopted. Is there discussion? The chair recognizes delegate at mike 2.

RICK BLOOMINGDALE, Pennsylvania AFL-CIO: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am the president of the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO and a 36-year member of AFSCME. *(Applause)*

I had to say that to get the cheer, right?

This is such an important issue. You know, we did this before and it was such a great program then and it can be a great program now.

Everything we have discussed this week has to do with economics. Whether it's Mayor Nutter in his attempt to defund public education and city services, or Governor Corbett in his attempt to privatize services across the state of Pennsylvania, or the managers in Detroit; they all create these false crises and then give tax breaks to the rich.

We need to educate our members so that they can no longer divide and conquer us. This is about solidarity. This is about educating our members, our friends, our families, our co-workers, everybody that we come into contact with, our community partners, our solidarity partners. Everybody needs to understand that together, as John Kennedy said, "A rising tide lifts all boats."

We can no longer let them divide and conquer. We must stick together in solidarity, educate our folks about economics. When we educate them, we will win.

I urge strong support of Resolution Number 7. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

The question is on the adoption of Resolution 7. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no.
Resolution carries.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 7

The Conversation About Economics We Need to Have

THE ECONOMY IS NOT THE WEATHER. It does not just happen to us. The economy is all about the wealth we create every day at work. Without our labor, there is no economy.

But while we do the work, we do not control the economy we create. For a generation, the wealthiest among us, organized through the corporations they control and the government they influence, have rewritten the rules of the global economy so that they take a larger and larger share of the wealth we create.

And as they are busy changing the rules to benefit themselves, the 1% have told us for a generation that this fundamentally unfair economic order is the only way we can create wealth. Corporate-dominated media continues to tell this story even as it becomes clearer and clearer that the 1% have built an economy that does not work even on its own terms.

It's time for a different conversation. A conversation about how the global economy really works, about how political and economic power shapes economic reality, about what has gone wrong in the global economy in the last generation, and what we can do here in America to set our country and the world on the path to shared, sustainable prosperity.

It's time for a conversation about how, together, workers can build countervailing economic and political power, through creating strong, democratic, independent labor movements and by developing economic strength through collective bargaining.

This is a conversation we have to have together—in our workplaces, in our union halls, online and in our homes. It's a conversation we need to have not just with our fellow union members, but with our allies, with economists and journalists, and with elected officials. But it's a conversation that can't get started unless we start it in the labor movement.

The AFL-CIO will, in the weeks and months to come, develop a comprehensive economics education program—Common Sense Economics. This program will provide educational tools so that we can educate each other, so that we can spark conversations that are informed by serious economic thinking, not by the failed dogmas of neoliberalism, or the self-interested lies of the billionaires that control so much of the economic conversation of America's TV talk shows.

Our goal is a curriculum that can be taught by workers to workers and that can be taught both online through social media and in person. The curriculum will use economic analysis, narrative teaching tools and participatory exercises to bring to life the economic history of the last 30 years and the economic challenges faced by workers in our country and around the world.

The initial modules of Common Sense Economics will address issues such as Why America Needs Rising Wages (tentative title), the Economic Impact of Immigration Reform and the Role of Corporations in the Global Economy. In the weeks and months to come, we will develop a comprehensive curriculum that addresses how our economy came to be in crisis—looking at the attack on workers' rights and collective bargaining and on the public sector, the hollowing out of American industry, the destruction of the progressive tax system, the rise of Wall Street and the attack on full employment.

But Common Sense Economics will be about more than an analysis of what went wrong. We will draw on Yale Prof. Jacob Hacker's work on Prosperity Economics to develop a curriculum designed to spark conversations about how to build an economy based on shared prosperity. The curriculum will look at how to build an economy based on full employment, economic security and democracy—and the critical role played by an organized workforce in achieving these goals.

Action Items:

1. Develop, in conjunction with community allies, a comprehensive Common Sense Economics curriculum, in the form of modules that make economics accessible and encourage conversations about the direction of our country.
2. Share the curriculum at every level of the labor movement and with allies.
3. Conduct train-the-trainer sessions for local union leaders and community partners so that they can lead conversations about how we can build sustainable, shared prosperity.

(End Resolution No. 7)

TRUMKA: I want to thank Leo and Roberta and Jorge and all who worked on the committee's resolutions. We've adopted resolutions stating that we stand for, as a movement, an economy based on shared prosperity, restoring democracy, and taking on the powers of money and hate in politics. This is a great achievement, but it will mean little unless we tell our members and our co-workers what our movement stands for, and unless we put our positions and our values into action.

Before I move on, Leo would like a few words.

GERARD: I want to personally thank Roberta Reardon and Jorge Ramirez. They've done a terrific job. And to get this number of resolutions done with the committee that was almost 50 people, many participating by telephone, many participating in person and circulating the resolutions until they came to conclusion, it couldn't have been done without their patience and their tenacity, and as the chair I really want to thank them. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: This afternoon we'll take up our commitments to action.

I'd like to hear right now from the Resolutions Committee again on Resolution 28, and I'd like to call on Brother J. David Cox, vice chair of the committee, for that report.

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Resumed)

RESOLUTION NO. 28

Solidarity, Effectiveness and Accountability at the Grassroots: State Federations, Central Labor Councils and Affiliates

VICE PRESIDENT J. DAVID COX, AFGE: Good morning, brothers and sisters. It's so great to be here with you. The president was so very kind, I was fixing to ask for a point of special privilege to recognize a group today, but he tells me that I don't have to go ahead and get into that, that I'm already honored for the point of special privilege.

And I'm just waiting for technology to catch up with that.

Yesterday we talked about the importance of an America built on good jobs and shared prosperity. That matters even to a special group I want to recognize this morning, our veterans, brothers and sisters. *(Applause)*

I personally had the honor of taking care of veterans for 25 years of my life at the Salisbury, North Carolina, VA Medical Center. My union, AFGE, is so proud to represent more than 200,000 VA employees who provide health care and process benefit claims that veterans have earned. VA employees are veterans themselves, brothers and sisters.

So let's take a moment to honor those who have served our country in the armed forces.

Unions and veterans have been intertwined for generations—men and women of all ages who have served our country, on the beaches of Normandy, the rivers of Southeast Asia, the deserts of the Middle East or somewhere else. And if you were lucky enough to come home, you became the heart and the backbone of working America.

Over 2 million union members and retirees are veterans. The AFL-CIO's Union Veterans Council is their voice. I know there are many veterans here today. May I ask if you are a veteran, to please stand, if you are able. *(Applause)*

Brothers and sisters, the men and women who brought you the free speech, freedom of religion and the right to form and join unions, God bless these men and women. *(Applause)*

And for those of us who are not veterans, I want to ask for your advocacy and active support for our veterans and the benefits that they have earned, brothers and sisters. Every veteran that has served this country honorably has paid their health insurance premiums in full for the rest of their life. Absolutely and completely. *(Applause)*

Monday, Rich talked about putting our words into action when we go home. I want to ask you to look for those opportunities to take action to support veterans in your communities.

Last month I joined unionists from throughout the D.C. area to help wash the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial Wall. There are friends I grew up with on that wall. It meant a lot to me to take that small action to honor them.

Please try to find those opportunities to recognize the men and women who have served for all of us. Thank you, brothers and sisters. And, most of all, God bless America's veterans. *(Applause)*

Now, on behalf of the committee, I'd like to report on Resolution 28, "Solidarity, Effectiveness and Accountability at the Grassroots: State Federations, Central Labor Councils and Affiliates."

This resolution was submitted by IBEW, the Painters, AFT, AFGE, OPEIU, CWA, AFSCME and the Bricklayers. It calls for the appointment of a special subcommittee of the Executive Council Committee on State and Local Community Partnerships and the State Federation and Central Labor Council Advisory Committee. That is a very big committee, brothers and sisters, but it has a very big job. It will work with state federations, labor councils and their affiliate unions as they develop recommendations for the appropriate amendments to the rules governing AFL-CIO state central labor bodies, as well as other specified actions.

Mr. President, on behalf of the committee, I move the adoption of Resolution 28.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends adoption of Resolution 28. Is there discussion? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

ROBERTA LYNCH, AFSCME: Mr. Chairman, I'm a delegate from AFSCME, and at the moment the not-so-great state of Illinois.

I rise in support of this resolution. All of us here at this convention have learned so much, I'm sure, and feel so connected by the global struggles that we've heard about.

At the same time, most of us at this convention tomorrow will be back where we always are, deep in the trenches, often engaged in hand-to-hand combat day in and day out at the state and local level. And I would submit to you that that is exactly where so many of the epic battles that will shape the future of our movement are being fought right now.

It is at the state level that we are waging battles not just against the economic assault on the standard of living of working families through drastic cuts in public services and layoffs, through privatization, through the attacks, the fundamental attacks on pensions and defined-benefit pensions in particular. But where we're also facing a calculated, deliberate and massively funded onslaught that is attempting to destroy the power of working families by destroying the labor movement through wiping out public employee collective bargaining, through the passage of "right to work" laws and through the various forms of paycheck deception that are attempting to eliminate the ability of working families to participate in the political arena.

It is this significant assault that is funded, driven and increasingly massively funded by wealthy right-wing forces symbolized by the Koch brothers, who are not only obscenely wealthy, but obsessed, obsessed with eviscerating, you might say subjugating, the vast majority of the American people. We can't allow that to happen.

They caught us off guard in Wisconsin two years ago. We were not prepared for the frontal assault on the very foundations of collective bargaining. And despite the heroic massive resistance that was mounted, we lost that fight, and hundreds of thousands of public workers in Wisconsin lost their right to collective bargaining.

We learned from that fight. In Ohio we fought back, we had a grassroots referendum and we beat those forces back and we saved collective bargaining in Ohio.

And in Illinois, I want to say for the last two years, we learned from Wisconsin. We put together a coalition of our own. We are one Illinois coalition of every public employee union in the state and against the united leadership of a Democratic governor, of Republican politicians, and of the entire corporate elite. For two whole years we have fought off the attempt to destroy pensions in the state of Illinois.

TRUMKA: Sister, I have to ask you to wrap it up.

LYNCH: The state federation has been in the leadership of that fight in Illinois. Yes, this resolution is important because—

TRUMKA: Sister, I must ask you to conclude your remarks. Your time is expired.

LYNCH: And I will. State federations must change and all of us must change in that process. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you. Delegate at mike 2.

TOM CHAMBERLAIN, Oregon AFL-CIO: President Trumka, sisters and brothers, I'm president of the Oregon AFL-CIO, and a third-generation union member.

IAFF ensured I had a better life than my father. The Green Machine is ensuring that my daughter has a better life than I have. What I'm worried about are my grandchildren, that fifth generation.

State feds and CLCs are the delivery system. We're one union movement. When President Trumka said, "Stop donating money to candidates and build grassroots," that's exactly what we did. Working with other affiliates, we built the premier grassroots program in the state of Oregon.

When Liz Shuler said, "Work connects us all. Drive that messaging throughout your organization," Oregon said, "Yes," and we did that.

When our sister, Arlene Holt Baker said, "Create community partnerships," we established tables throughout Oregon that did just that. Because of those three things, we're stronger for it.

We are not unique. State feds and CLCs want to do the right thing. But you know what? Every one of us can take some advice. Every one of us can make our programs better.

This resolution ensures a couple of things. One, it proves to the affiliates that we have good programs. We have a good program in Oregon, but 15 percent of the affiliates don't belong.

Unless we have good funding and participation, we cannot reach our full potential. If state feds and CLCs can't reach our full potential, you can't. Please support Resolution 28. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Tom. Chair recognizes delegate at mike 3.

CAROLYN FEDEROFF, AFGE: Thank you. I'm a delegate from the American

Federation of Government Employees, and a proud vice president of the Massachusetts state federation. I rise in support of Resolution 28.

We're federal employees and we rely upon Congress for our pay, our benefits, our very right to exist, and it has never been tougher. But we know that that's a direct result of state and local activity by the Koch brothers, by ALEC, that's resulted in redistricting and voter suppression. The battle is at the state and local level.

We've passed great resolutions this week, but we have to ask, "What will we do, what will I do to make them a reality?" We can't wait for someone else to do this.

To every affiliate, I say CLCs and state feds cannot do this alone. *(Applause)*

AFGE leadership is holding a leadership conference in two weeks, and we are bent to create the future we want. We're going into that leadership conference convinced that CLCs and state feds are the key to a better future, and participation will be a major focus.

AFGE is committed to doing our part to take this battle home. CLCs need and deserve our wholehearted support. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank You, Sister. The chair calls on the delegate at mike 1.

BEN JOHNSON, Vermont State Labor Council: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm president of the Vermont State Labor Council and AFT Vermont, a proud AFT member. I stand in support of this resolution.

We're not afraid of accountability. We know that if we're not counting and measuring, then we're just hoping and praying.

We're smart state feds, and I'll put numbers on that for folks, our total budget is about \$150,000, and we have one staff member who is chief cook and bottle washer.

I read this resolution as a way for us to get some assistance and advice from folks in other bodies on how we can do things better with what we have.

AFT is affiliated top to bottom, but this resolution goes beyond that and talks about participation and activation at all levels as well.

So I urge the body to adopt Resolution 28. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Chair calls on the delegate at mike 2.

KEN ALLEN, Clatsop County (Ore.) Central Labor Council: Thank you, President Trumka. I'm from the Clatsop Labor Council and Oregon AFSCME.

I want to talk about the Oregon political program a little more, because we do believe we are unique and have something going for us. One of the biggest things that we have going for us is Tom Chamberlain and the Oregon AFL-CIO.

TRUMKA: Hear, hear.

ALLEN: What's unique about our state is that when we have a political fight, it's not the affiliates that have to do it on their own, it's the state fed that puts us all in the same room and we fight our battles together.

It's the state fed that brings us together to fight bad ballot measures. It's the state fed that organizes the campaign activities that we all participate in. It's the state fed that helps bring Working America to the doors and doubles our density of who we can contact. It's the state fed that's helped us defeat paycheck deception three times.

It's the good leadership of the state fed that brings us all together and makes us stronger and makes us a fist to beat the employers and the right wingers.

In November of 2016, if "right to work" makes it on the ballot, which they're trying to do in our state, it'll be the state fed and effective labor councils working with the affiliates that make us and keep us a strong labor movement, because we'll beat "right to work." But we couldn't do that if we didn't have effective leadership and an accountable, active, state federation.

My hat's off to the state Oregon AFL-CIO and Tom Chamberlain. Thank you.
(Applause)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Chair calls on the delegate at mike 3.

ART PULASKI, California Labor Federation: Mr. Chairman, California Labor Federation and International Association of Machinists. (Cheers and applause)

I rise to support the resolution, and I rise to bear witness to what my colleagues, the central labor councils and the affiliated unions, have done in California.

They have come together and applied the principles that are embodied in this resolution and have achieved big victories as a result.

It works. In short, we have learned that to win the big battles ahead of us, we must do three things. First, we must have higher expectations of each other. Second, we must establish performance goals for ourselves and each other. And that means how many members are we mobilizing? How many phones are we calling? On how many doors are we knocking? How many worksites are we visiting?

Third, we must hold each other to it. We call it mutual accountability. That includes the state federation, the labor councils and the affiliated unions.

These principles here are the core elements of what we call the California experience, our strategic planning process. It has made us stronger and better together.

So we believe this resolution is a prescription to build more power across the movement. We would invite you to come to our action workshop, the last one listed in our program this afternoon, to learn more about that.

But we're about building more power for our movement. We're about building more political power. We're about building more legislative power. And we're about building more economic power, and this resolution is going to help us get there. We urge adoption.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. (Applause)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Art. Brother Art, let me just say this. I want to thank the California state federation for your generous help in putting on the wonderful reception that we had for all the delegates. You were more than generous, and we want to thank you for that. (Applause) The chair calls on the delegate at mike 1.

KARLA SWIFT, Michigan State AFL-CIO: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Brothers and sisters, I'm president of the Michigan AFL-CIO and a UAW member for 36 years. *(Applause)*

I rise in support of Resolution 28, "Solidarity, Effectiveness and Accountability at the Grassroots: State Federations, Central Labor Councils and Affiliates." In my state, like many others, working people and the labor movement have been under relentless and unprecedented attack for the last three years. Our opposition is strategic, they are dogged, they are well-funded and they are well-connected. And, so far, they are producing results for their agenda.

In the same time frame, the Michigan AFL-CIO has adopted a strategic plan that, when fully funded and fully implemented, aims to build and fortify the high-performing labor movement that is required to return power to everyday people in our state.

We welcome this resolution because it is a necessary tool to make sure that we hold ourselves accountable at all levels. That means accountability for affiliates, for state feds and labor councils; accountability to be not just tactical, but to be first strategic, to use sound practice and laser-like focus on achieving clear goals, and for all of us to be fearless in our willingness to honestly examine our performance and work together to improve that performance.

If we are serious about standing up to today's challenges and if we are serious about winning again for all working families, we will embrace this resolution as our new compact. A new compact between and among all AFL-CIO partners, affiliates, state feds and labor councils, that must require all of us to get in the common space of where the fundamental work of the labor movement is done and that we do that work more effectively and more productively than ever before. And we must do this work like our life depends on it because, where I come from, it does.

Thank you very much, brothers and sisters. I urge you to support this resolution. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister Karla. Delegate at mike 2.

VINCE BELTRAMI, Alaska AFL-CIO: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm president of the Alaska AFL-CIO and a proud member of IBEW Local 1547. I rise with optimistic support of Resolution 28.

We cover the largest single geographic jurisdiction in the country, over 586,000 square miles. While our small population is spread out, about half the population lives in Anchorage and so does half of our state legislature. We have a mayor there—his last name might as well be Kasich or Walker or Snyder—and in a cowardly move, he introduced and got passed an ordinance, 6 to 5, gutting the collective bargaining rights of around 3,300 municipal workers represented by eight unions.

We filed a referendum petition to repeal the ordinance. He denied it. We sued, and won easily in court. We will turn in nearly three times the requisite signatures on Monday to put the repeal question on the ballot. *(Applause)*

Just two days ago, minions of our mayor submitted their own petition to eliminate dues deduction for our city employees, which may put it on the same

ballot with our repeal question.

Now this mayor is seeking the Republican nomination for lieutenant governor and somehow thinks the best way to get there is on the backs of our union members, his hard-working employees.

The reason I mention this and its relevance to the resolution under consideration is this. I have no problem being accountable. I'll put the efforts of our small state fed up against the best of them. But to stop the flood of anti-worker legislation in its tracks, it is imperative we stop this mayor and we send a strong message to our state legislature. We need the international affiliates, many of which are sponsors of this resolution, not only to hold state feds and CLCs accountable, but to hold their own locals accountable. *(Applause)*

This is a fight which could have money flowing into our state from the likes of the Koch brothers, ALEC and others who look at our feisty little underfunded labor movement as a threat to their anti-worker agenda.

Mr. Chairman, we have no problem being accountable, and we have a good core of volunteers who show up time and again. But this time, we need to redouble our efforts because failure is not an option. We need more rank and file showing up to knock on doors, make phone calls, and everything else that goes with it.

And with all due respect, Mr. Chairman, that's where—as Brother Pulaski mentioned—mutual accountability comes in, and it's imperative in this resolution. With mutual accountability we will be an effective labor movement, and we'll continue to confound our opponents in the state with the second-highest union density in the country, but a state that's also one of the top targets of the national “right to work” for less foundation.

With mutual accountability we will turn back this anti-worker ordinance and other threats at the local and state levels. We will pass pro-worker legislation and elect pro-worker candidates, and we'll be damned sure to defeat candidates who answer to the Koch brothers and the rest of the 1%.

With this as the intention and commitment of the sponsors of this resolution, I urge full support of its passage. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Delegate at mike 3.

BRETT HULME, Savannah (Ga.) Regional Central Labor Council: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, I'm with the Office and Professional Employees Local 277 representing the Savannah Regional Central Labor Council.

Having served on the restructuring committee for state fed and CLCs in 2005, I'm extremely familiar with the accountability standards implemented, and I believe the intent of this resolution is dead on.

In a “right to work” state, excluding the building trades, those of us understand how frustrating it is having freeloaders in our bargaining unit and, worse, having to represent them. In our labor council we're running about 47 percent—excuse me, 57 percent affiliation—of which we're proud—but I believe any AFT member would inform us that 43 percent is unsatisfactory in unaffiliated locals.

My concern comes by the subcommittee in this resolution that will be formed. In

the true spirit of accountability and transparency, how can some of these potential appointments judge, render, criticize, recommend adjustments when their local people are not even at the table? That is my concern, Mr. Chairman. *(Applause)*

I've asked several local leaderships, regional reps, district reps, what is the difference between the nonunion bargaining unit employee your people represent and your local staying on the sideline unaffiliated, freeloaded off the rest of us? *(Applause)*

I've yet to get an answer that is satisfactory. Ironically, most constitutions and bylaws have language addressing affiliation. So I would close with an excerpt from one of Dr. King's speeches to the sanitation workers in 1968. "Be true to what you put on paper." Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Brett. Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

MICHAEL COMPTON, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers: Mr. President, I'm the business manager for IBEW Local 153, and a proud delegate of the IBEW to this great convention. As many other delegates here, I wear many hats in my community, one of which is a trustee to the Northern Indiana Central Labor Council.

I rise in support today of Resolution 28. The IBEW has a long, proud history of fully and actively participating in our state feds and CLCs. We urge all unions of the AFL-CIO to join us in real solidarity and to end the practice of open shop underaffiliation in state feds and CLCs. *(Applause)*

We also know and are committed to making sure that our state feds and CLCs are stronger and better able to meet the challenges that we face. That's why we support Resolution 28, to make sure that we are all holding each other accountable for making the labor movement really work at the grassroots level.

We cannot win fights we all face with an all-volunteer army. We have to be sure that everyone is in and playing, and that everyone is paying their fair share. *(Applause)*

Most importantly, we need to make the commitment that other unions will not only demand excellence but that we will do our part to be sure that real program is being delivered at the state and local level.

To our brothers and sisters at the state fed and CLCs, we want you to know we are in this together. The IBEW will be there. And we ask every other union to be there as well.

Mr. President, the jurisdiction of my local union is made up of counties in Indiana and Michigan. I personally worked on the front lines fighting the "right to work" legislation that tragically passed and became law in both states. What we heard Monday regarding the "right to work" law being declared unconstitutional in Indiana is tremendous news for me and my fellow Hoosier unionists. But we all know the fight is not over. I think this resolution will give state feds and CLCs new tools they need to fight attacks on workers that will certainly take place in the future.

At this convention we are embracing younger workers, and I feel that is the right path as they are our future. My experience of involving young workers is—

TRUMKA: Brother, I'm going to have to ask you to conclude. Your time's expired.

COMPTON: My experience with these young workers is they want answers, and this will give them answers they need.

Thank you very much, and I ask for the support of this resolution. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

RICHARD IANNUZZI, AFT: Thank you, Mr. President. I'm president of the New York State United Teachers, AFT vice president, and a vice president and Executive Committee member of the New York State AFL-CIO. (*Applause*)

I rise to speak in strong support for the adoption of Resolution 28. Sisters and brothers, state federations and central labor councils are the grassroots operation where seasoned and not-so-seasoned workers labor side by side to create the working conditions we need for all of our workers.

Today, more than ever, as the attacks on labor continue at a fierce pace funded by billionaires and moved by cowardly politicians, we need strong and effective state federations and central labor councils. Indeed, at the state and local level with grassroots activism and community engagement, the potential for favorable labor laws is far greater than at the stalled halls of the U.S. Congress.

But this cannot be achieved without strong and effective state feds and CLCs. We must continually strive to improve the effectiveness, efficiency and responsiveness of our grassroots operations for local and statewide political action and legislation, for assistance with contract fights and policy initiatives, for organizing and engaging communities, and for maximizing and amplifying our resources.

Sisters and brothers, we've all experienced working in effective and efficient organizations. The advantages are great, and when our affiliates and our locals are lean and mean, their successes have no limits. But to remain at a high standard, we must continually re-examine our effectiveness. In New York the state AFL-CIO reconstruction was a positive step for the improvement of maximizing our effectiveness. As a New York State AFL-CIO vice president, I know how we have gained from re-examining who we are and what we do. It began under the superior leadership of our past president, Denis Hughes, and it continues under the phenomenal leadership of our current state fed president, Mario Cilento, as we constantly raise the bar for what we can do and what we will do.

Holding ourselves accountable by standards and best practices—something we must do at every level—is a challenge and won't come easy, but the results are worth it. Sisters and brothers, the programs outlined in this resolution will strengthen the effectiveness of our state and local organization.

At this convention we have raised the bar and have raised the hopes of all workers for shared prosperity and a just society, and I can think of no more critical moment to achieve this goal, and for that reason I ask for your support for this resolution. I thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. *(Applause)*

The rules of the convention state that no resolution will be debated for more than 30 minutes. We have about a minute left on that time period. I recognize the delegate at mike 2 for one minute.

MIKE CERBO, Colorado AFL-CIO: Thank you, Mr. President. I'm the executive director of the Colorado AFL-CIO. *(Applause)* Thank you.

I rise in support of Resolution 28. Not only do I have to follow a schoolteacher speaking on this, but I'm under the time limit gun. But I'm proud to rise in support of it.

We've had a successful political and legislative program in Colorado. Our political program has helped turn our state blue. Our legislative program had a very good year this year passing legislation that increases the use of best value contracting of state projects, discourages the use of out-of-state, low-road, nonunion contractors, and also raises the accountability bar for use of steel—United States steel—on state projects by putting contractors that use foreign steel under the gun to report it.

TRUMKA: Brother Mike—

CERBO: We're done.

TRUMKA: Time's expired, Brother.

CERBO: Thank you. Please support this amendment. This is going to help us improve our program in Colorado, and we're always proud to report on that program and meet any accountability level that's requested of us on it.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Mike. You guys do a great job.

The question is on the adoption of Resolution 28. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no.
Resolution 28 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 28

Solidarity, Effectiveness and Accountability at the Grassroots: State Federations, Central Labor Councils and Affiliates

THE LABOR MOVEMENT is present in every state, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico. The AFL-CIO's affiliates come together across the country in the AFL-CIO's state and local central bodies. Today more than ever, effectiveness on the state and local levels is essential for two reasons: First, the right-wing (Kochs, ALEC, Americans for Prosperity, the Chamber, etc.) has made a priority of state-level attacks on unions and worker rights; second, while federal labor law reform is still a much-needed priority, state and local politics present immediate opportunities for the expansion of workers' rights.

The success and survival of the labor movement requires our state federations and central labor councils to innovate and operate at a higher standard than ever before. Elected leaders, staff, key partners and affiliated unions working together must develop forward-thinking plans and hold each other accountable for execution.

Through action taken at the February 2013 meeting, “Winning for Working Families: Building Grassroots Power,” the AFL-CIO Executive Council and the State Federation and Central Labor Council Advisory Committee determined that state federations and large central labor councils need to hire qualified campaign managers and develop and implement strategic plans, including community engagement programs. The plans must have clear deliverables and metrics to measure success, whether for legislative, issue, political, organizing support or other campaign activities. The council also directed that accountability programs, affiliation strategies and tools would need to be developed to strengthen our state and local councils to meet the challenges faced by our affiliates and the federation. In furtherance of that goal:

After the AFL-CIO Convention, the president of the AFL-CIO will appoint and charge a special subcommittee of the Executive Council Committee on State, Local and Community Partnerships and the State Federation and Central Labor Council Advisory Committee with developing and monitoring the performance of the state federations, labor councils and their affiliate unions and in developing recommendations for appropriate amendments to the Rules Governing AFL-CIO State Central Bodies for Executive Council adoption to expand the president’s authority to take appropriate action to carry out the purposes of this program. In consultation with the Executive Council Committee on State, Local and Community Partnerships, the president will select 10 states each year to undergo a thorough affiliate and federation peer review. A delegation of national affiliate designees, along with AFL-CIO staff and a select state federation leader and central labor council leader from other states, will perform an in-state qualitative and quantitative review of state performance. The review committee’s findings and recommendations can highlight well-run state and local programs, as well as identify places where performance has fallen short. The review also should include an assessment of the level of affiliation, participation and performance on the same metrics by the local affiliates, as well as the national unions and national AFL-CIO.

The review can result in a number of recommendations to the president, including but not limited to:

- A recommendation for re-prioritization of the per capita resources to accomplish the goals;
- A recommendation for a reorganization of the state federation or central labor council structure to accomplish the goals;
- A recommendation for greater affiliation and resources to support the work of the state federation or central labor council; and

- A recommendation for a redirection of resources if it is determined that this is the best way to ensure the labor movement's goals are accomplished.

In addition to the establishment of standards and metrics and accountability reviews, the committee also shall oversee the commitment of the federation for the expansion of leadership development training and tools to help ensure effective programs in our state federations and labor councils.

The goal of this entire "Solidarity, Effectiveness and Accountability at the Grassroots" program is to strengthen the effectiveness of our state and local organizations and to ensure that affiliates and federation bodies have shared responsibilities and mutual accountability.

(End Resolution No. 28)

TRUMKA: Thank you again to the Resolutions Committee and J. David Cox.
(Applause)

At this time I would like to ask Secretary-Treasurer Liz Shuler to start our report of the Finance Committee. Liz.

SECRETARY-TREASURER ELIZABETH H. SHULER: All right. Good morning, everyone. Good morning. Everyone still awake out there?

So here to give what is, in my view, the most important report of this convention, the Finance Report, and introduce Resolution 53, is Tom Buffenbarger, president of the International Association of Machinists. Let's hear it. *(Applause)*

All right. And he's chair of the Convention Finance Committee. Tom also serves as the vice chair on the Executive Council Finance Committee that meets regularly between conventions.

Tom has been instrumental in working with me and all of the committee members to improve the financial health of the federation and in bringing transparency to our financial reporting. I will say it has truly been a pleasure for me personally to work with Tom. He's been a champion for the financial health of the federation.

It's an honor to introduce him here today. Please welcome to the dais, IAM President Tom Buffenbarger. *(Applause)*

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

RESOLUTION NO. 53

Assuring Sound Priorities for New Labor Movement Strategies: Aligning Vision with Accountability and Fiscal Responsibility

VICE PRESIDENT R. THOMAS BUFFENBARGER, International Association of Machinists: Thank you for that kind introduction, Liz.

Brothers and sisters, do you want the short report or do you want the standard report?

Short report is we had some money, we spent it and we're going to need some more. *(Laughter)*

I would like to thank Liz for a very kind introduction, and to thank Liz for all she's done to help the work of this committee. Let's hear it for Liz Shuler. We're fortunate to have her. *(Applause)*

I would like to thank the other members of the convention's Finance Committee: Vice Chairman Ken Rigmaiden of the Painters, Larry Cohen of CWA, Pat Finley of the Cement Masons, Leo Gerard of the Steelworkers, Lee Saunders of AFSCME and Randi Weingarten of the AFT.

This group met several times in the weeks leading up to the convention. There was strong participation in all meetings resulting in very candid and productive discussions. It was clear that all of the committee members took this responsibility very seriously. And I want to thank them for their assistance throughout this process.

If you were at our last Convention in 2009, you may remember that the Convention Finance Committee reported that the federation's financial condition was very, very serious. If current spending levels had continued in the context of our anticipated revenues for that year, we would have ended with a sizeable—sizeable—deficit.

In response to your calls at the Convention, the officers of the AFL-CIO were tasked with taking the necessary steps to address the financial deficit that would result in a balanced budget, and then they were asked to do it without a per capita tax increase.

The officers of the AFL-CIO were committed to that change, and their actions included, and were not limited to:

(1) Lowering the federation staff levels through careful management of vacancies and short-term project positions, and implementing a staff pension plan salary freeze.

(2) Implementing changes and efficiencies in organizing and member mobilization programs.

(3) Charging rent and fees for certain office space and meeting rooms in the AFL-CIO headquarters building.

(4) Selling the AFL-CIO office space in Paris, France.

(5) Replacing one of the two annual out-of-town Executive Council meetings—which are expensive—with a meeting at the federation's headquarters.

(6) Increasing participation in the national affiliation program from 75% to 80% to provide continued support to our state federations.

(7) Eliminating extraordinary subsidies to the National Labor College. Recently the college property was put on the market, and the sale should lead to further reductions in support over the next several years.

In addition to making these and other cost-cutting measures, there was a call for a process that is committed to ensuring that our governing bodies are kept fully informed regarding the federation's finances, giving them the opportunity to determine how our limited resources should be spent and to carry out the programs that we all agree are needed.

Some of the steps that have been taken are the continuation of regular and frequent Finance and Executive Committee meetings to review the budget and

spending. This includes tracking and reporting actual income and expenses on a monthly and year-to-date basis.

The Executive Council now receives the proposed annual budget at least 60 days before the beginning of each fiscal year. To promote transparency in reporting, the federation's budget now mirrors the format of the audited financial statements, and the chief budget officer has been appointed. This position coordinates and oversees the work of the various departments affecting the federation's finances.

Together, the measures taken since 2009 have aided in turning a \$16 million negative net asset balance into a positive net asset balance of \$6 million by the end of fiscal 2012. That's a \$22 million turnaround in just four years.

While this is all good news, despite these cost-cutting measures, the federation finds itself, once again, in very serious financial difficulty. In May of this year, the Executive Committee approved a fiscal year 2014 "placeholder" budget, which uses level spending projections from fiscal year 2013 and presumes no assessments or increases in per capita tax. The result is a significant deficit for 2014. This budget was approved only to guide spending levels through this convention. The federation will make adjustments to the budget to incorporate the actions coming out of this convention.

Throughout this convention we have heard many of our brothers and sisters refer to the crisis we are facing as a labor movement. We've heard references to the current economic and political climate, losses in membership and the difficulties in growing our movement. The committee wants you to know that we are sensitive to your challenges, and that we recognize that the financial struggles confronting the federation are the same hurdles and challenges faced by so many of you.

The harsh reality is the current budget deficit at the federation is not sustainable. Let me repeat. The current budget deficit of our federation is not sustainable. There is still the need to find solutions to the budget shortfall, to rebuilding the Reserve fund, to covering inflation-driven increases and to meeting the labor movement's collective goals.

Therefore, the Convention Finance Committee has developed a resolution entitled "Assuring Sound Priorities for New Labor Movement Strategies: Aligning Vision with Accountability and Fiscal Responsibility."

The resolution does: One, implement a process that will begin no later than October of 2013, next month. It will be merged with the Executive Committee's 2013-2014 budget and program review process. The president shall appoint a special committee, with the approval of the Executive Committee, to conduct a strategic evaluation of new and existing programs coming out of the Convention, including those of associated organizations, and to assess the financial needs associated with them and the priorities among them.

Secondly, the special committee's evaluation will be reported to the AFL-CIO General Board at a meeting to be called during the AFL-CIO's February 2014 Executive Council meeting. If any recommendation of a per capita tax increase is proposed, the General Board may do so by a two-thirds vote.

Lastly, recognizing the key role that state and local central bodies must play in this process as well, the special committee shall review the inconsistent levels

of affiliation at the national, state and local levels, and make recommendations to ensure a fair system for all, whether by enhancing the National Affiliation Fee Program or some other mechanism to apply a uniform, enforceable standard. *(Applause)*

Brothers and sisters, there are no more rabbits left in the hat. I'm very serious. There are no more gimmicks. There are no more places to turn.

We believe this resolution will provide a process for assessing the federation's finances and its resources that it needs going forward. The resolution has been approved by the Executive Council, and I, along with my fellow committee members, unanimously submit our report and move adoption of Resolution 53.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The committee recommends that Resolution 53 be adopted. Is there any discussion? Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

VICE PRESIDENT LEE A. SAUNDERS, AFSCME: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm president of AFSCME. *(Cheers and applause)*

I rise in support of this resolution. But first let me thank Tom Buffenberger and Liz Shuler for the work that they have done. I think they've done a tremendous amount of work in this area and they need a round of applause for what they have done. *(Applause)*

You know, in the interest of transparency and efficiency, this resolution puts everything on the table. The challenges before us demand that we be smarter, that we be nimble and that we prioritize. We can't do this in a vacuum. We need to take a close, careful look at our resources and how we utilize those resources.

The program review covers every part of our resource picture: the federation's own core budget, the Member Mobilization Fund, which funds the political program, associated entities such as the Labor College, the campaigns we support through voluntary contributions, the state federations and the local labor councils. Everything. Everything that we finance from the members' dues, putting it in one big picture.

Obviously, we can't do everything we'd like to do, so the resolution demands that we be clear about priorities. It demands there be a rigorous process and provides a clear path for moving forward.

So before we go to the winter Executive Council meetings, this committee will have a recommendation that can be defended. It can be defended in front of any of our affiliated unions.

So the two big questions that must be asked, that must be addressed with this study, are: Number One, what do we most want the federation to do? Number Two, how are we going to pay for those priorities?

Mr. Chairman, I recommend support of this resolution. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

Seeing no further discussion, the question's on the adoption of Resolution 53. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no.
Resolution 53 is adopted.

Thank you.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 53

Assuring Sound Priorities for New Labor Movement Strategies: Aligning Vision with Accountability and Fiscal Responsibility

OVER THE PAST SIX MONTHS, the AFL-CIO has led a strategic planning process to engage our affiliate unions, state and local labor bodies, and partners and allies, internationally and throughout the United States. Policies, programs and action plans relating to growth, innovation and political action; shared prosperity in the global economy; community partnerships; and the rebuilding of grassroots power have emerged from this process and will be taken up by the Convention, and implemented thereafter.

Even as this planning process has continued, examples of resilience, creativity and unity abound: An expansion and redirection of the labor movement's field infrastructure to drive year-round campaigns; a post-election budget fight that resulted in the repeal of Bush tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans and the preservation of Social Security benefits; a successful NLRB appointments campaign that gained a fully confirmed, worker-friendly National Labor Relations Board; a comprehensive immigration reform campaign that contributed to a Senate bill with a path to citizenship and protection of workers' rights; and most recently, the AFL-CIO affiliation of the United Food and Commercial Workers, under the "united we are stronger" banner.

Individual affiliates, too, are in many cases responding to the crisis with new, inventive and stronger programs—in politics, organizing and public policy, and defending the work they know best, from high-value construction to manufacturing and public education. At the same time, however, we all understand that these programs must be more effectively coordinated, so that we will collectively have the impact we need to emerge from this crisis and regain power for working families.

Now, more than ever, we must recognize the importance of a strong labor movement, with a "center of gravity" at the national, state and local level, with a defined common purpose and strategy, and with the necessary structures and adequate resources to achieve our collective goals.

We must at the same time also recognize that resources are scarce. The labor movement has been operating in an increasingly difficult economic environment, in which it has at all levels experienced painful budget cuts and other financial pressures. At the same time that affiliates are hurt by membership decline due to economic downturn, they face the challenge of political attacks which have sought

to limit, even eliminate, collective bargaining rights, diminish union strength and reduce benefits. All have had to do more, with less.

While we have had many unions return to our Federation since 2005, the AFL-CIO, itself, has not had an increase in per capita tax in eight years, during which time the economy has experienced inflation of 19%. But the AFL-CIO is by no means alone in this regard; many of its national and international union affiliates, as well as its state and local central bodies, are facing rising costs while they have lost membership, and consequently dues revenue as well.

The federation has made notable progress in spending its resources more efficiently, and it needs to continue to seek and achieve economies of operation. It also needs to identify current programs of low priority that could be cut in order to refocus on the priorities set by the Convention.

How do we efficiently and adequately finance the strong central federation that is needed, while at the same time navigate economic realities? How do we provide adequate resources to the AFL-CIO in order to carry out a new strategic vision, while remaining aligned with the continuing expectation of accountability and fiscal responsibility? How can we assure that AFL-CIO programs, and the programs of organizations which are formal AFL-CIO partners, are the right programs for the times and function at high levels of effectiveness? These are sobering questions that can only be answered through a collaborative, transparent, inclusive and comprehensive process.

Therefore, we resolve that:

1. A process shall begin no later than October 2013, to be merged with the Executive Committee's 2013-14 budget and program review process. The president shall appoint a special committee, with the approval of the Executive Committee, to conduct a strategic evaluation of new and existing programs coming out of the Convention, including those of associated organizations, and to assess the financial needs associated with them and the priorities among them.
2. The special committee's evaluation will be reported to the AFL-CIO General Board at a meeting to be called during the AFL-CIO's February 2014 Executive Council meetings. If any recommendation of a per capita increase is proposed, pursuant to Article XVI, Section 5 of the AFL-CIO Constitution, the General Board may consider a per capita tax increase and, by a two-thirds vote taken pursuant to Article XI, Section 4 of the AFL-CIO Constitution, may increase the per capita tax.
3. Recognizing the key role that state and local central bodies must play in this process as well, the special committee shall review the inconsistent levels of affiliation at the national, state and local levels, and make recommendations to

ensure a fair system for all, whether by enhancing the National Affiliation Fee Program or some other mechanism to apply a uniform, enforceable standard.
(*End Resolution No. 53*)

BUFFENBARGER: I want my own teleprompter back, Rich. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Buddy. Thanks for a great job.

Once again, I'd like to hear from the Resolutions Committee on Resolutions 33, 39 and 40, with J. David Cox reporting.

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (*Resumed*)

RESOLUTION NO. 33

Gateway Pacific Terminal

COX: Resolution 33, "Gateway Pacific Terminal," was submitted by the Washington State Labor Council, Northwest Washington Central Labor Council, Maritime Trades Department, Laborers' International Union of North America and the Operating Engineers.

It resolves that the AFL-CIO supports construction of the Gateway Pacific Terminal. It calls on coal companies that will use the terminal, such as Peabody Energy and Arch Coal, to truly promise to honor and take care of the workers and provide their health care, Brother Cecil. (*Applause*)

It resolves that the president of the AFL-CIO communicate this support to the governor of Washington, the Washington State congressional delegation and relevant federal government agencies.

Mr. President, on behalf of the Resolutions Committee, I move the adoption of Resolution 33.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The committee recommends that Resolution 33 be adopted. Is there a discussion? Delegate at mike 2.

JEFF JOHNSON, Washington State Labor Council: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, sisters and brothers. I'm president of the Washington State Labor Council, AFL-CIO. I rise in support of Resolution 33, the proposed Gateway Pacific Terminal at Cherry Point. This would be built in the northwest corner of my state. Over the past 30 years our industrial sector has been devastated by corporate flight from unions and tax policies that have incentivized the outsourcing of our work.

Resolution 33 is about creating family-wage union jobs in construction, rail and maritime, in a part of Washington State that has lost over 50% of its industrial base over the last several decades.

The Gateway bulk commodity terminal would be built in an existing industrial zone that already has an oil refinery and an aluminum smelter.

Given the unique geological features of the area, a low bank and deep water at the shoreline, Gateway is ideally suited for a terminal that can bring large ships close

into shore without any need for dredging or disturbing the sea bottom.

The Gateway Terminal is designed with state-of-the-art environmental protections, including a half-mile buffer zone of trees between the dock and the covered unloading conveyor and storage areas. It will create thousands of temporary construction jobs and hundreds of permanent maritime and railroad jobs.

While we want your support for the project as well as this resolution, I can promise to you that there is not a trade union in the state of Washington that would support the transport of one lump of coal for export until Shirley and the United Mine Workers receive the health care benefits and the pension benefits that they bargained for with Peabody, Patriot and Arch Coal. We stand ready to help Presidents Trumka and Roberts in that effort to bring justice to the Mine Workers. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. *(Applause)* Chair calls on the delegate at mike 1.

HERB KROHN, Southwest Washington Central Labor Council: Brothers and sisters, I'm with the SMART Transportation Division. I'm a railroad worker by trade, and I'm also the state legislative director for Washington State. I rise in support of Resolution 33.

Resolution 33 supports the building of a new West Coast port in Bellingham, Washington, called the Gateway Project. It's a \$650 million, privately funded deep water port ready to begin construction, pending federal and state approval.

Resolution 33 is both a jobs resolution and an export resolution. Constructing the Gateway port will require more than 2,100 union construction workers over a two-year period, and will also create about 2,300 indirect jobs. If Gateway moves forward, there will be more than 4,440 direct and indirect jobs created in a community that has lost more than 1,400 industrial jobs since 2007. Let me say again that this project will create more than 4,440 jobs.

After construction, the Gateway port will employ between 400 and 500 permanent union workers and hundreds of more union railroad workers across the western United States that will be delivering trainloads of exports to this port for decades to come.

If we want America's economy to get back on track, we need to back efforts that will create more good-paying union jobs that will boost American exports. The Gateway Project accomplishes both. It will create thousands of good union jobs and dramatically increase America's exports.

For these reasons the Resolutions Committee recommends adoption of Resolution 33, and I urge its adoption as well. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Delegate at mike 2.

DAN KANE, UMWA: Mr. Chairman, I'm the secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America.

I'd like to start by thanking our brother for supporting our fight for retiree health care and for our pensions. And I also rise in support of the Gateway Pacific Terminal. There are many who oppose this terminal for ideological reasons because it will transport coal for export. And that coal may or may not be mined by our members.

But I can tell you this much, it will create thousands of union jobs in construction and thousands of union jobs permanently, and we support, we support those jobs, the creation of those jobs.

I think we as a nation have to put job creation higher in our priorities. We've seen too many people suffer job loss going overseas, and there's no sense in walking away from thousands of good-paying jobs.

I again reiterate my support, our union's support for the Gateway Pacific Terminal. Thank you, Brother Chairman. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Dan.

Seeing no further discussion, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 33. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no.

The resolution is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 33

Gateway Pacific Terminal

MAY IT BE RESOLVED

- WHEREAS, the Gateway Pacific Terminal will be built and operated by union labor in one of the most financially challenged counties in the State of Washington regrettably marred by high levels of unemployment; and
- WHEREAS, the construction and successful operation of the Gateway Pacific Terminal will provide meaningful long term employment for the labor movement that will support family wages, high benefit jobs; and
- WHEREAS, the Gateway Pacific Terminal will include and utilize the most advanced environmental technology available that will set a standard for terminals throughout the world and will demonstrate that family-wage job generation and protection of the environment are indeed compatible; and
- WHEREAS, the **United States Army Corps of Engineers** has publically clarified the position of the federal government that the Gateway Pacific Terminal and other similar projects are independent of each other and that their environmental impacts are not related but will be subject to a rigorous review; and
- WHEREAS, the **Northwest Washington Central Labor Council** has unanimously adopted a resolution and recognized that the construction of the Gateway Pacific Terminal is consistent with land use and shoreline policies for the area; and
- WHEREAS, the **Northwest Washington Building and Construction Trades Council** has conveyed its views to the Governor of Washington and urged that

responsible agencies perform a timely, rigorous, fair, and objective review of the Gateway Pacific Terminal application; and

- WHEREAS, the **Seattle/King County Building and Construction Trades Council** has made its views known to the Governor of Washington that the Gateway Pacific Terminal will provide opportunities to bring back industrial and manufacturing jobs to Washington State and that it cannot be overlooked that millions of new tax dollars that will annually follow into public schools and social programs; and
- WHEREAS, the **Washington State Building & Construction Trades Council** and its brothers and sisters have demonstrated the knowledge and skills necessary to build the most complex of projects and fully supports family wage jobs generated by this project that will improve communities and contribute to the vitality of our nation's economy; and
- WHEREAS, the **Washington State Labor Council** has enacted a resolution calling on the Local and National AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Departments, and the AFL-CIO Executive Committee to support the Gateway Pacific Terminal project in every way they can, and
- WHEREAS, the **Transportation Division of SMART**, on behalf of the men and women working in the rail industry, unequivocally support this investment in infrastructure that would generate long term employment opportunities and facilitate the rail movement of commodities through the Gateway Pacific Terminal; and
- WHEREAS, the **Maritime Trades Department, AFL-CIO**, composed of twenty-one unions representing nearly five million members, as well as the **Puget Sound Ports Council**, strongly supports the Gateway Pacific Terminal and the contribution it will make to expand port infrastructure; and
- WHEREAS, the **President of the AFL-CIO** has written the Governor of Washington and stands in solidarity with our brothers and sisters in the labor movement and has noted that privately financed projects like the Gateway Pacific Terminal provide a tremendous opportunity to increase the nation's port infrastructure with minimal environmental impacts, and it creates hundreds-upon-hundreds of new good paying jobs; now, therefore, be it
- RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO publicly support the Gateway Pacific Terminal; and furthermore
- RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO calls on all coal companies that will ship coal from the Gateway Pacific Terminal, such as Peabody Energy, Arch Coal and others, to fulfill their moral obligation to their retired workers by keeping the promise of

providing health care these companies made to their workers for decades; and be it finally

- RESOLVED, that the President of the AFL-CIO communicate this support to the Governor, the Washington State congressional delegation, and relevant federal government agencies.

(End Resolution No. 33)

TRUMKA: J. David.

RESOLUTION NO. 39

Reject Any Attempt to Privatize the Tennessee Valley Authority

COX: Submitted by the Building and Construction Trades Department, IAM, the Metal Trades Department and IFPTE, Resolution 39, "Reject Any Attempt to Privatize the Tennessee Valley Authority," commits the AFL-CIO to work with Congress to oppose any effort by the Obama administration to undertake a study or move towards selling the TVA to private interests. It also urges Congress to draft and pass TVA reauthorization legislation that includes certain specified criteria.

On behalf of the Committee on Resolutions, I move the adoption of Resolution 39.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 39 be adopted. Is there discussion? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

RICKEY WALLACE, IAM: Mr. Chairman, I'm a proud member of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. I'm also directing business representative for District 711 in Nashville, Tennessee.

I rise in support of Resolution Number 39. This resolution would reject any attempts by Congress or the White House to privatize the Tennessee Valley Authority. The Tennessee Valley Authority Act was passed in 1933. It's part of FDR's New Deal and was an intricate part of bringing the South out of poverty and despair.

Part of the act requires that TVA work in close consultation with labor, organized labor. The TVA Act itself serves as the collective bargaining agreement for 14 different unions. The Tennessee Valley Authority employs over 10,000 workers. The vast majority of those workers are unionized, represented by affiliates in this room.

The privatizing of TVA would put those jobs at risk. Being from the South, I can testify that these are some of the best jobs that our members have, good-paying jobs with benefits.

Brothers and sisters, we've seen this privatization movie before. We know the ending. I urge your support for Resolution 39. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

MARK BLONDIN, IAM: Thank you, Brother Trumka. I'm a proud 35-year member of the Machinists union. *(Applause)*

I currently serve our membership in a position of general vice president with the responsibility of our Southern Territory.

I rise in support of Resolution Number 39 that we, the AFL-CIO, will work with Congress and strongly urge and oppose any attempt by the Obama administration to privatize the TVA.

And that we, the AFL-CIO, will also urge Congress to raise the debt ceiling, which has been in place since 1979 and unchanged, so that the TVA can expand its services for future energy demands and create more good union jobs in the seven Southern states where it operates.

The TVA is a fully self-sufficient public utility that provides safe, sufficient, reliable and affordable energy to over 9 million American households in those seven southern states. No taxpayer money goes towards the operating expenses of the TVA.

Privatization will not reduce the national debt. That's a farce. As I said, it's a fully self-sustaining utility. No taxpayer money goes into the operating expenses.

We have a very good relationship with the TVA. These are good union jobs, provide good health care—good, affordable health care, pension plans and family wages.

Let's all send a strong, unified message to this administration: Don't off-load and outsource a treasure; embrace and enhance the TVA. It's a program that provides critical services to millions of Americans. And by expanding these services—we've talked about young Americans—let's give them a shot at these high-skilled jobs that provide a good family wage career. Thank you, Brother Chair. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

GAY HENSON, International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm with IFPTE 1937 and I'm a worker at TVA.

I'm opposed to the privatization of TVA. Number One, because it hurts workers. And it will make the electric rates in the area increase, which hurts the families in the area.

Some of you folks may not know a lot about TVA, but in the early 1930s the TVA pulled the South out of poverty. The southeastern United States was a barren place. Soil erosion directly affected the ability of families in the area to grow crops and to have food and to have a life. Pretty much no one had electricity.

President Franklin Roosevelt changed all that. We were in the Great Depression. And in 1933, President Roosevelt and Congress passed the Tennessee Valley Authority Act, the TVA Act.

TVA is considered the most successful public works project in American history. TVA brought a change to the lives of everyone in the region. TVA built dams and harnessed the waterways, created a positive economy in that area. TVA built plants and provided cheap electric power to families in the region.

TVA changed the lives of everyone in that valley. TVA today still changes lives. TVA serves 9 million people with inexpensive, reliable and safe electric power. The workers at TVA built 49 dams to serve an 800,000-square-mile area and generate \$11.2 billion in annual revenues.

Since the TVA was created, 300,000 jobs have been created and it has spurred \$32 billion in business investment. Sadly, President Obama included in his budget that he wanted to study the privatization of TVA.

I'm not going to say that because it's already been said.

TVA bonds are not a federal obligation, yet it's part of the debt inexplicably.

Next week or so I've been asked to meet with OPM and the Treasury Department to talk about the privatization of TVA. I believe it's an irresponsible idea and would diminish TVA's critical role in that region.

I urge you to vote for this proposal to block any attempt to privatize TVA. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister.

Seeing no further debate, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 39. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no.

The resolution is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 39

Reject Any Attempt to Privatize the Tennessee Valley Authority

THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY (TVA) provides top quality power and energy to consumers throughout the Tennessee Valley. Today TVA provides electricity and other services to more than 9 million people spanning over 80,000 square miles. Citizens in Tennessee, as well as millions of others in parts of Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina and Virginia are directly served by the TVA. While TVA is a federal government entity created by Congress in 1933 through the TVA Act, it is a fully self-sustaining utility provider completely supported by the millions of rate payers it serves.

TVA creation—an inspiring chapter in our nation's history

The creation and evolution of the TVA is an integral and inspiring chapter in our nation's history. As our nation struggled through the Great Depression in the 1930's, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration moved forward with policies that both promoted worker rights and meaningful investment in public interest projects, including state and city governments, railroads and our energy infrastructure. Known as the New Deal, President Roosevelt's plan was comprised of such landmark bills as the Wagner Act of 1935, which gave most private sector workers the right to organize; the Social Security Act of 1935 to help lift our nation's seniors out of poverty; and the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which created the 40-hour work week and minimum wage requirements. Also part of the New Deal was passage of the Tennessee Valley Authority Act (TVA Act) on May 18th, 1933, marking the birth of what many historians argue is one of the most successful public works projects in the history of America. Indeed, today the TVA is still going strong as the largest public utility in the nation.

TVA mission is also an economic engine

TVA's mission of providing inexpensive and reliable power services to those in the Tennessee Valley has also served as an incredibly successful economic engine for Tennessee and parts of the other six states it serves. With over 13,000 employees—many in family wage, union represented jobs—the TVA generates approximately \$11.2 billion in annual revenues. Since 2005 TVA has been responsible for saving and creating over 300,000 jobs and spurring \$32 billion in business investment in TVA serviced areas. TVA has 155 power distributor customers that they sell electricity to, and serves some 56 industries and federal entities. As Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee Chairman Sen. Ron Wyden said earlier this year, federally owned energy providers like the TVA and the Bonneville Power Administration, “have been a bedrock of local economies.”

What many outside of the Tennessee Valley are unaware of is that in addition to the energy it creates, the TVA also provides other services and is fueling new technologies and innovation in the energy industry. For example, the TVA manages and operates forty-nine dams along the Tennessee River (the nation's 5th largest) and its tributaries. These federal functions, performed by TVA federal employees, are crucial for maintaining good water quality, promoting safe and enjoyable recreation, creating reliable and safe power generation, and ensuring the free flow of commerce by ensuring efficient navigation and flood control. TVA is also a leading innovator in the industry when it comes to new energy technologies. Right now Authority employees are working toward developing modular nuclear reactors and smart grid technologies that will lead to the production of more clean and reliable energy sources.

Effort to Privatize TVA under false pretenses

Despite this great work performed by the TVA, and the reliable and inexpensive services that millions of families and businesses in the Tennessee Valley rely so heavily on, it was disappointing to see language in President Obama's Fiscal Year 2014 (FY14) budget that proposed to study the privatization of the TVA. This despite the fact that *no taxpayer money goes toward any of TVA's operation expenses*, which obviously includes TVA employee salaries, pensions and health care. Moreover, as a self-financing government corporation, TVA bonds are not a federal obligation; yet, its debts are inexplicably considered part of the federal deficit. While this smoke and mirror accounting gimmick has helped to serve as a false justification for undertaking an effort to privatize TVA, it will do nothing to obscure the simple truth that selling the TVA will not have any impact on the federal deficit, nor will it result in better services for TVA customers. As Tennessee Sen. Lamar Alexander pointed out in April following the release of the President's budget, “There is no assurance that selling TVA to a profit-making entity would reduce electrical bills in Tennessee, and it could lead to higher electricity rates.”

Instead of pursuing the fiscally irresponsible approach of privatization, the more prudent course of action would be for the Obama Administration and the Congress

to increase the TVA debt ceiling through the approval of a TVA reauthorization bill. After all, TVA's current \$30 billion ceiling was set by Congress some 34 years ago—back in 1979. With the retirement of some of the older power plants throughout the Tennessee Valley, and to meet the ever growing energy needs of its customers, TVA does require more capacity. However, while the need to increase the TVA debt ceiling should come as no surprise to the President or Congressional lawmakers, legislation to do so has yet to be introduced in the Congress, or pushed by the Obama Administration.

Both labor, and even Sen. Alexander, among others, have advocated for an increase in the TVA debt ceiling for quite some time. As Sen. Alexander correctly pointed out to the Chattanooga Times Free Press on September 1st, 2011, “raising the \$30 billion, congressionally imposed limit on TVA borrowing might be appropriate given the growth in TVA and its power load.” Increasing the TVA debt ceiling will give the Authority the flexibility it requires to sell bonds rather than taking the extraordinary step of selling its ownership rights in two Watts Barr Unit nuclear plants and the John Sevier Combined Cycle Plant gas plant.

In conclusion, the unions of the AFL-CIO believe that the logic used to support the privatization of the TVA is fundamentally flawed. We further believe that any effort to privatize the TVA will diminish the critical role that it plays not only as a provider of inexpensive electricity and economic development, but also as an environmental steward of the Tennessee River watershed. We believe it was the New Deal policies of labor protections, like those included in the Wagner Act, and investment in our nation's infrastructure through the passage of landmark legislation like the TVA Act of 1933, that are the very foundation that not only helped our nation recover from the Great Depression, but has also helped to build America's vibrant middle class. Unfortunately these very worker, wage and retirement security protections, along with an effort to privatize critical public services like the TVA, are now unjustly under attack.

The AFL-CIO therefore resolves to do the following:

- **To work with Congress in opposing any effort by the Obama Administration to undertake a study and/or move toward selling the TVA to private interests;**
- **To urge Congress to draft and pass TVA reauthorization legislation—a bill to (1) Allow the Authority to expand capacity to meet future demand by increasing the \$30 billion TVA debt ceiling that has been in place since 1979; (2) De-link the TVA debt from the overall national debt, and; (3) Act on the 2003 GAO recommendation (which was referenced by GAO again as a part of their 2011 TVA financing report to Congress) to ensure that customer energy prepayments do not count against the overall TVA debt.**

(End Resolution No. 39)

TRUMKA: J. David.

COX: Brothers and sisters, we do many things in the AFL-CIO. But there is a group of folks in the AFL-CIO that enhances the joy, quality and just our general everyday living opportunities as American citizens. And I'm talking about the United States Post Office.

I love to get my birthday card from my grandmother with a dollar in it. I loved the day I got my union card. My wife and Barbara Easterling love to get the notice of the next Nordstrom sale. Some people call it junk mail. They call it the opportunity for a shopping experience. *(Laughter)*

But most of all, I like getting mail, and I've liked getting mail all my life six days a week. *(Standing ovation)*

Brothers and sisters, there was a saying, "Mail moves the country and ZIP codes move the mail."

Brothers and sisters, it's 2013. Mail still moves this country, and the union members of the AFL-CIO move the mail, brothers and sisters. They move the mail. *(Applause)*

RESOLUTION NO. 40

A Postal Service for the 21st Century:

Innovation and Growth, Not Downsizing and Decline

COX: So now to Resolution 40, submitted by the National Association of Letter Carriers, the American Postal Workers Union and the Laborers' International Union of North America. Resolution 40, "A Postal Service for the 21st Century: Innovation and Growth, Not Downsizing and Decline," calls on the AFL-CIO and its affiliates to mobilize the labor movement and its allies to defeat the forces of austerity and anti-unionism in the debate over postal reform, including repealing the pre-funding mandate for retiree health benefits, freeing the Postal Service to diversify its services and using its unique networks to address other national problems by enacting legislation that promotes innovation and growth.

Mr. President, on behalf of the Resolutions Committee and of all of the citizens of this country that love receiving mail because it enhances their life, I enthusiastically with passion move the adoption of Resolution 40. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 40 enthusiastically and passionately be adopted. Is there discussion? Delegate at mike 1.

OMAR GONZALEZ, American Postal Workers Union: Good morning. I'm the Western Region coordinator, proud member of the American Postal Workers Union.

First of all, let me congratulate you, Brother Trumka, and the rest of the Executive Council that was newly elected and re-elected. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

GONZALEZ: The American Postal Workers service every community, every hamlet, every address in the U.S.A. American Postal Workers service every union, every one

of your members, every business. The American Postal Workers are employed by the American institution embodied in the Constitution of our beloved nation.

Indeed, your Post Office preceded the country. It helped establish street names, sidewalks, addresses, it explored the waterways, built the fabric of this great nation, bound the union and its people.

And now powerful entities are out to destroy your Postal Service. We face the same evil privatizers, the same greed, the same indifference to the plight of public service employees.

You want to talk about innovation? The Post Office had oversight over the telegraph. The first wire message was from a post office to a post office. What did they do? They sold it to privateers.

The Post Office had electronic mail in the '70s, electronic computerized originating mail. They killed it, they killed ecom in the early '80s. The postmaster general said email would never catch on. What an idiot.

TRUMKA: Boy, he was right on. *(Laughter)*

GONZALEZ: Today, the Postal Service is the hub of a trillion-dollar postal industry. It affects the economy, it affects everybody in this room. It doesn't burden the taxpayers. It actually makes a profit.

The Postal Service is the people's Postal Service. It still services millions of Americans that do not have or cannot use computers. And you can't text a parcel.

But they, Congress, privateers and even our own crazed management want to kill it.

Brothers and sisters, don't let them get away with murder. Don't let them kill us. *(Applause)*

I stand here to urge you to support Resolution 40, and I ask and implore that you urge your members within your unions to help save your Postal Service. It belongs to the people. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes delegate at mike 2.

JOHN HEGARTY, Laborers' International Union of North America: Good morning, Mr. Chairman, brothers and sisters. I'm the president of the National Postal Mail Handlers Union, I'm a proud member of the Laborers' International Union of North America, I serve on their General Executive Board as a vice president, and I serve on your General Board, Mr. Chairman, proudly serving the national AFL-CIO.

The National Postal Mail Handlers Union was happy to work with the Laborers International, with the NALC and the APWU to craft this resolution. It's very carefully worded. I won't repeat it here, but I urge the delegates to read it over carefully.

This is a jobs issue. In the last 10 to 12 years, the United States Postal Service has shrunk from 787,500 full-time, good-paying jobs to under 500,000 today. That's a loss of almost 300,000 jobs. Most of this has been accomplished through attrition, through downsizing, through automation, increased efficiency, early retirements, and plant closings and consolidations.

Brother Gonzalez referenced the prefunding mechanism. I won't bore you with the details. But basically that's an act of Congress passed in 2006 that unnecessarily burdens the Postal Service with massive costs, five-and-a-half billion dollars per year, that are totally unnecessary.

The press reports that you read say that the Post Office is bleeding red ink and losing billions of dollars a year. What they don't tell you—and this is the Postal Service feeding that information to the press—is that in fact the Postal Service so far this fiscal year has made a profit of \$300 million. There is no need to cut services any more, to eliminate Saturday delivery, to close processing plants and put workers out of a job.

The Congress of the United States created this problem and the Congress of the United States can fix it.

As I mentioned, these are good, middle-class jobs. Many of them are veterans. We had the tribute to veterans earlier this morning. Our proud men and women returning from Iraq and Afghanistan deserve a fair shot at a good job through Helmets to Hardhats and other programs, and the U.S. Postal Service proudly employs anywhere from 25 to 40% veterans, depending on the job category.

There are two bills pending in the House of Representatives and the Senate right now that would destroy another 100,000 good, middle-class jobs.

We urge you, brothers and sisters, to work with us, to lobby with us against those destructive bills and to go and support the good bills that are introduced, S. 316 in the Senate, H.R. 630 in the House of Representatives.

Folks, the future of the Postal Service is at stake. There are a half-million jobs at stake in the Postal Service and millions more in the affiliated industries—the paper manufacturers, envelope manufacturers, printers, the list goes on and on.

Many of those are union jobs, and the ones that aren't union jobs, we're going to go out there and organize them after we come home from this convention, based on the programs that we've put in place.

I urge you to support Resolution Number 40. Thank you, Brother. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Delegate at mike 3.

VICE PRESIDENT FREDRIC V. ROLANDO, National Association of Letter Carriers:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm the president of the National Association of Letter Carriers and co-author of Resolution 40.

I want to bring to your attention also one of the major postal lies in the media. The Postal Service is not losing \$15 billion a year. As John mentioned, the Postal Service year to date is making money processing and delivering the mail. All the losses that you read about have to do with this prefunding mandate, with which I will bore you with the details. Because no other federal agency, no other company, is required to do what the Congress requires the Postal Service to do.

Most companies and agencies, when the premiums for retiree health care come due each year, they simply pay them. The Postal Service is required to pay them in advance, for 92 years, at a liability of about \$100 billion.

So all the Postal Service's cash, savings, borrowing authority and so forth has

been put into an account which has \$50 billion in it that they will not let the Postal Service have access to. Probably the richest broke company you'll ever see.

Any legislation that does not address this prefunding issue will instead attack the workers and do away with the precious services of the Postal Service. As John mentioned, there are two such bills that do just that, that threaten the half-million AFL-CIO members who work for the Postal Service, threaten their collective bargaining rights, retirement, health benefits. On the service side, it looks to do away with six-day mail delivery and door-to-door delivery. These legislators, instead of having your letter carrier walk through the rain, sleet and snow, would have your grandmother do so instead.

You may recall earlier this year the Postal Service, the postmaster general, attempted to begin the process of dismantling the Postal Service by announcing he would unilaterally do away with six-day mail delivery August 5th.

The NALC, the other postal unions, AFL-CIO affiliates—many of them in this room—and our community allies mobilized, hit the streets, and the public spoke loud and clear that they don't want their postal service dismantled. As a result of that, August 5 came and went, and we are still delivering your mail six days a week. *(Applause)*

We won that battle, but it's a much larger war, so we ask your support of this resolution so that we can continue to support any legislation that will allow the Postal Service to grow and rail against any legislation that looks to destroy the Postal Service as we know it. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Fred. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

HULME: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm with the Office and Professional Employees, Local 277, representing the Savannah Regional Central Labor Council.

All labor councils are the communication center for labor and their jurisdiction. Our affiliates answered the call when we surrounded Congressman Barrow's office to save the Postal Service and, again, when the Letter Carriers called for support for six-day delivery.

What our affiliates learned, and what I'm here to share with you all, is the for-profit companies—UPS, FedEx—will drop parcels on the docks of the U.S. Postal Service for them to deliver in places they don't want to go. Our letter carriers deliver those parcels to everywhere in the United States.

I urge the support of this resolution. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

The question is on the adoption of Resolution 40. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no.

The resolution is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 40

A Postal Service for the 21st Century:

Innovation and Growth, Not Downsizing and Decline

THE UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE (USPS) is perhaps the oldest national public institution in America, established in 1775 before the Declaration of Independence and specifically authorized by the U.S. Constitution (Article I, Section 8.). Yet it remains a vital component of this country's economic and communications infrastructure. In the past year, USPS handled and delivered 160 billion pieces of mail and generated more than \$65 billion in revenues, while receiving no taxpayer funding. Despite the rise of the Internet, almost one half of all bills are still paid by mail. The majority of bills and statements received by households are still delivered by mail. And the vast majority of magazines are delivered by mail. Meanwhile, the volume of packages is exploding.

Measured by employment, the Postal Service is the nation's second largest enterprise with more than 550,000 employees, and it plays a major role in the U.S. economy. Trillions of dollars in transactions move through the postal system every year. The mailing industry, which employs 8 million Americans, generates over \$1 trillion dollars annually, representing approximately seven percent of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Rural communities in particular, many of which do not have access to the Internet, remain dependent on the Postal Service for vital communications and for the shipment of goods. Many Americans, particularly elderly Americans, depend on the Postal Service for receipt of their prescription drugs. Voting by mail is now commonplace and will remain essential to our democracy. The nation needs to preserve its Postal Service.

Nonetheless, the Postal Service faces a severe crisis, largely stemming from the enactment in 2006 of the Postal Accountability and Enhancement Act (the PAEA). The PAEA has required the Service to set aside over five-and-a-half billion dollars (\$5.5 billion) annually to prefund the health benefits of future retirees. At the same time, the PAEA set strict limits on the Postal Service's ability to raise rates. These legislative constraints, coupled with the impact of the 2008 recession and the long-term decline in first class mail volume due to electronic diversion, have caused the Postal Service to lose over \$40 billion since 2007. However, fully \$32 billion of these losses (80%) result from the retiree health pre-funding mandate, a burden that no other company, public or private, faces. Rather than investing in new products and upgrading its capabilities to handle growing parcel volume, the USPS has been drained of resources by this funding requirement and its management has adopted a doomed "shrink to survive" strategy.

The Congress of the United States created the crisis at the Postal Service and must now fix it. Unfortunately, rather than reducing or repealing the pre-funding burden and relaxing unreasonable price controls, legislation now before Congress retains these burdens and calls for radical cuts in services and jobs to help pay for them. Bills in both the House and the Senate target the elimination of at least 100,000

jobs by: eliminating Saturday service; slowing mail delivery by drastically downsizing its mail processing network and phasing out door-to-door delivery for 30 million households and businesses; and closing or sharply limiting local post offices. These destructive bills (H.R. 2748 and S. 1486) also pose a dire threat to the pensions and health benefits of postal employees by interfering with the postal collective bargaining process that has worked so well for more than 40 years.

Slashing service in order to pre-fund retiree health benefits decades in advance makes no sense—it will simply drive more business away and prevent the Postal Service from building on its growing success in the booming e-commerce sector. And attacking the middle class living standards and bargaining rights of postal employees to address a financial crisis manufactured by Congress is simply wrong. At a time of massive unemployment, dismantling the Postal Service would further damage the nation's struggling economy.

The postal union affiliates of the AFL-CIO have worked to build broad public coalitions to resist more damaging austerity in the Postal Service and to build support for sensible reform. (See www.apwu.org, www.nalc.org and www.npmhu.org.)

Such reform has been proposed in Congress: The Postal Protection Act of 2013—S. 316 in the Senate and H.R. 630 in the House. This legislation should be adapted and adopted to do the following:

- Stabilize the Postal Service's finances by reforming or eliminating unwise and unfair pension and retiree health financing policies that have crippled the Postal Service's finances since 2006;
- Strengthen and protect the Postal Service's invaluable mail processing, retail and last-mile delivery networks that together comprise a crucial part of the nation's infrastructure; and
- Free the Postal Service to meet the evolving needs of the American economy and to set its prices in a way that reflects the cost structure of the delivery industry while assuring affordable universal service and protecting against anti-competitive practices.

The Postal Service is a national treasure that can play an important role in our future. Its networks are invaluable and should be used to address pressing national problems. The universal geographical reach of its 30,000 post offices could be used to provide financial services to the 40 million Americans who lack access to basic banking services, provide low-cost remittance services to immigrant workers, finance a National Infrastructure Bank to help rebuild our nation and create millions of jobs, and provide public Internet access and other media and technology services to underserved communities. With a federal vote-by-mail statute, the Postal Service could be the answer to voter suppression across the country while boosting voter turnout the way it has in Oregon and other states that conduct elections through

the mail. The Post Office can be re-imagined as a platform for state and local services in rural and inner city areas that lack access to services. We should not only save the Postal Service, but also reinvent it for the 21st Century.

The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions are called on to help mobilize the entire labor movement and our allies in the progressive community to defeat the forces of austerity and anti-unionism in the debate over postal reform. We must repeal the pre-funding mandate, free the Postal Service to diversify its services, and use the Postal Service's unique networks to address other national problems by enacting legislation that promotes innovation and growth, not downsizing and decline.

(End Resolution No. 40)

TRUMKA: Thank you J. David. *(Applause)* I'm going to call on Harold now for some additional resolutions. Resolutions 25, 27, 47 and 29. Harold.

RESOLUTION NO. 25

International Labor Solidarity Is More Than a Slogan

SCHAITBERGER: Brothers and sisters, Resolution 25 is "International Labor Solidarity Is More Than a Slogan." It's submitted by the Alameda Labor Council and congratulates Hassan Juma'a Awad, president of the Iraq Federation of Oil Unions, on his victory against criminal charges for strikes and work stoppages, and reaffirms the AFL-CIO's commitment to involve affiliates in solidarity with Iraq and other workers in the struggle for labor rights and a decent standard of living for working people.

Resolution 25 subsumes proposed Resolution 21.

On behalf of the Resolutions Committee, I move the adoption of Resolution 25.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 25 be adopted. Is there discussion? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

VICE PRESIDENT NANCY WOHLFORTH, Office and Professional Employees

International Union: Hi. I am a very proud member of OPEIU. I would just like to urge adoption of this resolution and make it a very clear point that this is not an empty slogan to us. International labor solidarity has actually meant in many cases that the unions in Iraq, Colombia, Honduras and many other countries around the world have been allowed to exist because of the work we have done—we in the AFL-CIO, and many affiliated groups such as U.S. Labor Against the War and other groups.

There's a law now in Iraq that they are supposed to create the right to bargain and organize, and they have refused to do that. The people are getting three to six years in jail and hundreds of thousands of dollars in fines—trade unionists are.

Because of our work with the Solidarity Center, the AFL-CIO, we have a brother, Hassan Juma'a, who is here, and the other Iraqi trade unionists who are back there, if you want to stand up. People back there are here because of our hard work. They have been allowed out of the country, and they have gotten here. And they really appreciate our support. *(Applause)*

Lastly, I would just say that when, for instance, the question of the invasion of Iraq came up, in 2005 the AFL-CIO actually passed a resolution against that because of our work with Iraqi trade unions. We found out where they stood, and we were able to bring forth a resolution that actually reflected the views of workers in Iraq.

That's true, we will continue to do so with all of the international delegates and our relationship with all the international trade unions on any issue that comes up that will affect those regions. Thank you. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister Wohlforth. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

JOSIE CAMACHO, Alameda (Calif.) Labor Council: Thank you President Trumka, I'm secretary-treasurer of the Alameda Labor Council, also first VP of APALA and proud member of CWA 39521.

I present this resolution on behalf of our labor council, which was submitted to the Resolutions Committee, and I have a couple of points I want to make.

International labor solidarity is not about charity. It's a strategy for building global working-class power. It is so critical to protecting the labor rights and standards internationally in movements in Iraq, Honduras, Colombia and many other countries. They are fighting the same fight that we're fighting. We mentioned the Bangladesh fire that occurred. We know over a hundred years—I had the honor and privilege to be invited by Labor Secretary Hilda Solis at the time to commemorate the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire where 147 women and girls had died as a result of the terrible working conditions there.

So it's in that spirit that we need to fight privatization, poverty, wages, repression of workers in these struggles. A good example is what's happening in Iraq. Hassan Juma'a Awad, president of the Iraq Federation of Oil Unions, which our labor council is going to be privileged by having him visit us tomorrow night, is here today in no small measure because of the campaign of international labor solidarity and the U.S. Labor Against the War, which Michael Eisenscher is a leader in and also a delegate to my labor council.

The strikes that took place there were because of the unsafe conditions, broken promises, harassment and repression directed at union activists just like happens here in the United States. But it's much more pointed and it's much more death-like.

Had Brother Juma'a been convicted, he would have suffered years in prison and had to pay tens if not hundreds of thousands of dollars. There are other activists that are facing this same oppression.

When we act in solidarity with our brothers and sisters around the world, we are not only supporting them, we're supporting our own interests, because we know that the economy is global, we know that these corporations are global, and we also know we will stand in solidarity to have a global, strong labor movement. So I urge the body to support this resolution. Thank you. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister.

Seeing no further debate, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 25. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no.

Resolution 25 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolution covered by it appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

RESOLUTION NO. 25

International Labor Solidarity Is More Than a Slogan

IN THE WAKE OF the departure of U.S. military forces from Iraq at the end of 2010, Iraqi workers have experienced increasing repression. The government of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki has ignored the provision of the new Iraqi constitution that calls for respect of worker rights to organize and collectively bargain. It continues to enforce the 1987 law imposed by Saddam Hussein that made it illegal for public workers and employees of public enterprises to organize and bargain, and has enacted additional anti-union decrees. The Iraqi parliament has failed to adopt a basic labor law as called for by its constitution.

The U.S. military occupation of Iraq may have ended but the war on workers there has not. The attacks on worker rights in Iraq are being visited on workers around the world, including in the United States, by both governments and multi-national corporations. This year, the al-Maliki government escalated its attack on the Iraqi labor movement by attempting to criminalize the routine activities of unions and their leaders. The Ministry of Oil filed a criminal complaint against Hassan Juma'a Awad, President of the Iraq Federation of Oil Unions. South Oil Company, for which he works, charged that he undermined the Iraqi economy by instigating strikes and work stoppages by oil workers who were protesting unresolved grievances, broken promises, safety violations, privatization of Iraq's oil industry and refusal to respect worker and union rights. Heavy fines have also been imposed on a number of other union leaders by the Ministry of Oil in retaliation for their union activities.

In reaction to this attack on basic labor rights, the AFL-CIO Solidarity Center, the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), IndustriALL, U.S. Labor Against the War and the Iraq Civil Society Solidarity Initiative launched an international campaign to demand that the charges be dropped and that a labor law be enacted that conforms to International Labor Organization standards for the protection of worker rights.

The global labor movement responded. More than 150 international, national and local labor organizations and NGOs from 24 countries signed an open letter calling on the Iraqi government to drop the charges and respect the right of all workers, public and private, to organize and bargain.

After months of delay and repeated postponements, a hearing on these charges was finally held on July 1st in a Basra Court. The judge ordered management to produce evidence to support its claim that the Iraqi economy had been damaged by actions taken by oil workers. The company attorney could produce no evidence, but

claimed that the strikes had caused “moral damage” to the economy. The case was dismissed.

Labor solidarity has always been organized labor’s strongest weapon for defending the interests of working people. In an era of ever greater globalization and in the face of a growing employer assault on working conditions and labor rights, labor solidarity across national borders becomes even more critical.

RESOLVED that the AFL-CIO is proud to have participated in the campaign to support Brother Hassan Juma’a Awad and congratulates him on this important victory.

FURTHER RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO reaffirms its commitment to defend the rights of Iraqi workers and unions and to the principle and practice of international labor solidarity, and to actively involve its affiliates in solidarity with Iraqi and other workers in our common struggle for dignity, respect of labor and union rights and a decent standard of living for the working people of every country.

(End Resolution No. 25)

TRUMKA: Harold.

RESOLUTION NO. 27

Resolution on Honduras

SCHAITBERGER: Resolution 27, the “Resolution on Honduras,” submitted by the Sacramento Central Labor Council. It calls on the central labor councils to urge Secretary of State John Kerry to demand that elections in Honduras be run free of threats and coercion, and it commits the AFL-CIO to encourage affiliate unions to consider sending or supporting observers for the November 2013 national elections in Honduras.

On behalf of the Resolutions Committee, I move the adoption of Resolution 27.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 27 be adopted. Is there a discussion? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

LEE CUTLER, AFT: Good afternoon—or good morning. I’m the secretary-treasurer of the New York State United Teachers and a proud member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers.

I rise in strong support of Resolution 27 that has been submitted by the Sacramento, California, Central Labor Council. Brothers and sisters, we all know too well how our American labor movement has been under attack here in the United States these past few years. But, President Trumka, I have to thank you for the excitement that we finally feel turning the corner that is palpable in this hall as we continue our conversation. So it is important that as we find our stride and voice, that we also focus in on the civil and human rights violations of our brothers and sisters in other countries, and Resolution 27 speaks to the dire situation right now in Honduras.

Since 2009 the government of Honduras has declared a political and economic war on their own people. As a result, the most vulnerable and needy citizens of Honduras have suffered most. As a teacher myself, I have to mention that teachers in Honduras have been particularly impacted by the tyranny of this government.

Long-promised improvements in wages, work conditions and the restoration of their robbed pension funds have not been fulfilled.

In Honduras, teachers, students, health care workers, public-sector employees, journalists and human rights workers have been targeted by the police and the military. But even in the face of these horrific conditions, the same courageous women and men are pressing for democratic change in Honduras. Listen to this. They've actually formed their own political party—something we may want to consider—and polls show that they have a real chance to win the country's presidential election this November 24th.

Yet, on the eve of this historic election and as polling shows that they could win this, the risk of this being snatched away seems to increase each day. It is important that we understand that the ruling elite controls the elections, the media, the judicial system and the police.

The American Federation of Teachers stands in solidarity with our labor brothers and sisters in Honduras, the AFL-CIO, and the Trade Union Confederation of the Americas to demand fair and free elections in Honduras this November.

This resolution is extremely important. If we pass it today, we will immediately unleash the political power of the AFL-CIO in this country. Not only does this resolution ask central labor councils—

TRUMKA: Brother, I'm going to have to ask you to wrap up. Your time's expired.

CUTLER: I will wrap up.

This asks us to get Congress to urge our secretary of state to demand that the national elections be free of threats. It also encourages affiliates of the AFL-CIO to consider sending or supporting observers to the November 2013 elections. The world is watching us—

TRUMKA: Brother—

CUTLER: I encourage you to vote in favor of Resolution 27. Thank you very much.
(Applause)

TRUMKA: Thank you. Delegate at mike 3.

BILL CAMP, Sacramento (Calif.) Central Labor Council: President Trumka, I'm the executive secretary of the Sacramento Central Labor Council, and I rise in support of this resolution.

Twenty-six union leaders have been murdered since a coup. But we have the president of the United Workers of Honduras running for vice president of Honduras. Twenty-three journalists have been murdered since the coup. Thirty-one

farm worker leaders have been murdered. Eleven gay and lesbian leaders have been murdered. Sixty-two women leaders have been murdered, 46 union youth leaders. Twenty-five candidates for public office from the LIBRE Party have been murdered; 68 members of the LIBRE Party have been murdered. Seven leaders of the Garifuna community have been murdered, and 100 families driven off their land. Just three weeks ago, three leaders of the Lenca indigenous community were murdered in fighting a nonunion mining company.

But we have a unique opportunity to exercise the power that we may not be aware of. Every member of the United States House knows someone in the State Department because that's where the secretary of state hires their employees from, the U.S. House. Every member of the U.S. House comes to the labor councils and asks for their endorsement. The one question that our national federation asks those candidates is, "How do you get along with your labor council and your state federation?"

So this resolution asks us to exercise a power we may not be aware of, that every labor council call their member of Congress and demand that a political party with a labor leader running for vice president must be protected. It is the State Department that has the power to guarantee a fair election.

This government sends \$2 billion a year to the military. As they say in Honduras, there's never been a coup where there's not an American embassy.

So we have the power to say to the American embassy, you've got to produce on this. But we would ask each labor council to not only make a phone call, but to go to Honduras, or support someone else going to Honduras, so that we say to the State Department and to the people of Honduras, the labor movement stands by our own.

We elect a union leader to be the vice president of Honduras and we advance the interest of workers throughout the world because every country then knows you run union people for public office, and the labor movement in America will fight hard to make sure they have a fair chance.

So we ask for your aye vote on Resolution 27.

Thank you, Mr. President.

TRUMKA: Thank you.

The question is on the adoption of Resolution 27. Committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no. Resolution 27 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 27

Resolution on Honduras

WHEREAS, a military coup kidnapped the democratically elected President of Honduras on June 28, 2009, and overthrew the government;

WHEREAS, labor unions, teachers, students, farm workers, LGBT activists, indigenous groups and human rights organizations have formed a resistance movement that has led the struggle for a return to democracy;

WHEREAS, tens of thousands of Hondurans have taken to the streets in nationwide demonstrations of resistance and have maintained their struggle for three years despite a continuing human rights crisis that has left hundreds of activists murdered;

WHEREAS, a substantial opposition party was born out of the resistance movement and is participating in the national elections at the end of November 2013. The LIBRE Party is running ahead of the oligarchy's pro-coup parties, but its candidates and supporters are the targets of violence and intimidation;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that Central Labor Councils of the AFL-CIO will urge their Members of Congress to contact the Department of State and urge the Secretary of State to demand that national elections in Honduras be run free of threats, coercion, or intimidation of candidates, their supporters, or voters; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO will encourage affiliated unions to consider sending or supporting observers for the November 2013 National Election in Honduras.

(End Resolution No. 27)

TRUMKA: Harold.

RESOLUTION NO. 47

Justice for Santiago Rafael Cruz

SCHAITBERGER: Submitted by FLOC, Resolution 47, "Justice for Santiago Rafael Cruz," resolves that the AFL-CIO call on the Mexican federal government to take over the investigation of the murder of FLOC union organizer Santiago Rafael Cruz; call on the U.S. State Department to advocate that the federal government of Mexico not only take over the investigation, but monitor and report back on the investigation, and support FLOC's efforts to resolve the case and its campaign to protect the labor and human rights of its staff and members in Mexico.

On behalf of the Resolution Committee, I move the adoption of Resolution 47.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 47 be adopted. Is there discussion? Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

VICE PRESIDENT BALDEMAR VELÁSQUEZ, Farm Labor Organizing Committee:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am president of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO—*(Applause)*—the Ohio AFL-CIO Executive Board, Greater Toledo Central Labor Counsel, and also, in case I forgot yesterday, I'm also an eight-year member of the Traveling Musicians Local 1000 of the AFM. *(Cheers and applause)*

Mr. Chair, we passed a resolution yesterday, 10, proudly, that included a clause to the AFL-CIO to protect immigrant workers, and called for improving the wage standards in all foreign temporary worker programs, including the H-1B, H-2A, the H-2B visa programs.

Santiago Rafael Cruz was implementing this resolution before we even dreamed it up. It was in 2007 that we opened an office in Monterrey, Mexico, to implement the newly won collective bargaining agreement of 8,000 H-2A workers that work on 600 farms in North Carolina, and the victory over the Mount Olive Pickle Company boycott that many of you supported. We thank you very much for that help and support. *(Applause)*

We opened the office to implement measures of that collective bargaining agreement, which included a clause that workers in Mexico who were recruited for these temporary jobs, they had a right to file grievances over recruiting violations. Indeed, Santiago was educating workers how to file those grievances, what were the standards, what was the law, what were recruiters supposed to do and not do, including charging excessive fees for the consulate fees in Monterrey to get their visas.

Santiago worked tirelessly to educate members through all of the states of Mexico, from Nayarit, from Durango, to Chiapas, to San Luis Potosi. From all of the states of Mexico, he educated hundreds of workers about their rights, and filed dozen of grievances over them. We got recruiters fired and we cleaned up the corruption in that supply chain in its collective agreement, and that's why those recruiters hate FLOC with a desperate measure that they stalked our offices, they patrolled the front of our offices, they followed us on the street. But Santiago was undeterred. One Easter Sunday, they tied him up and murdered him and killed him in our office to send us a message to stop doing this work.

We renovated that office. Congresswoman Marcy Kaptur came and helped us reopen the office, and renamed it the Santiago Rafael Cruz Justice Center now.

With the help of all our colleagues in the labor movement, we continue to defend the rights of those workers. We want to expand the representation of those workers in the fields of North Carolina with our organizing campaign among their colleagues and other co-workers that do not have a union in North Carolina. We will push to organize them, to defend the right to lift up the work that Santiago Rafael Cruz has.

So this work is symbolic. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Brother—

VELÁSQUEZ: This resolution is symbolic in order to push forward the victory that's long overdue to these Mexico workers.

So I say, as reference to Reverend Lee Saunders, and all due respects, as Jesus says in section—

TRUMKA: Brother, time has expired. Baldemar, you have to close out.

VELÁSQUEZ: The greatest love we can show to one another as trade unionists, is he who lays down his life for his friends, and he did that.

God bless you all. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you.

The question is on the adoption of Resolution 47. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no. Resolution 47 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 47

Justice for Santiago Rafael Cruz

WHEREAS, on the morning of April 9, 2007, the body of Santiago Rafael Cruz, a union organizer for the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, was found in FLOC's office in Monterrey, Mexico. He had been brutally tortured and murdered, and his dead body was tied and left in the union office; and

WHEREAS, FLOC represents Mexican migrant workers who travel from Mexico to North Carolina to work under a U.S. guest worker program. Santiago defended the human and labor rights of Mexican farm workers going to the United States, and he paid the ultimate price. Santiago was thirty years old; and

WHEREAS, following Santiago's assassination, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights found sufficient evidence that the murder was politically motivated, and issued a protective order for FLOC staff and members in Mexico; and

WHEREAS, to date only one of the murderers has been captured and sentenced to prison, but three other suspects are still at large. FLOC is seeking justice for Santiago Rafael Cruz and his family, and punishment for those who are responsible for his murder; and

WHEREAS, union investigations have uncovered widespread corruption among Mexican labor recruiters who hire Mexican workers for U.S. agribusiness. Mexican workers covered by a FLOC contract are no longer victimized by unscrupulous recruiters. Santiago Rafael Cruz's murder was a message to FLOC to back down. The staff and members of FLOC in Mexico cannot feel safe until all of the murderers of Santiago Rafael Cruz are found and punished; and

WHEREAS, the Inter-American Human Rights Commission has given protective status to FLOC, its staff and members in Mexico; and

Whereas, the state government of Nuevo Leon has done nothing to bring the assassins of Santiago Rafael Cruz to justice;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO call on the federal government of

Mexico to take over the investigation of the murder of Santiago Rafael Cruz from the state of Nuevo Leon so that his assassins can be apprehended, and, after more than 6 years, be finally brought to justice; and

THEREFORE BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO call on the US State Department to advocate that the federal government of Mexico take over the investigation of the murder of Santiago Rafael Cruz, monitor the investigation, and report back on the progress of the Cruz case to FLOC; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO supports FLOC and its efforts to resolve the case of Santiago Rafael Cruz, and will assist FLOC's campaign to protect the labor rights and human rights of its staff and members in Mexico.

(End Resolution No. 47)

TRUMKA: I want to thank you, Harold, and, once again, to your committee. After lunch we will pick up with all the resolutions that we have.

Now I'll call on Secretary-Treasurer Liz Shuler for announcements.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SHULER: All right. Before you get up for lunch, I'd like to announce that the two health care resolutions will be taken up immediately after lunch.

So we're going to run through the action sessions today. To those of you who have been soldiers and attended every single day, we thank you. We have some more great sessions lined up for this afternoon.

I will just point out we are going to be coming back to the hall earlier than normal. We're going to be coming back at 2 instead of 2:30, so please adjust your schedules.

Also, wanted to point out that a black laptop bag was misplaced at the Westin during the funders' reception on Monday night. So if anyone picked up the wrong bag, please return it to the registration desk. You know who you are. Thank you.

So I have some winners to announce from yesterday's action sessions. We are making good on our promise here. So if I read your name, please, pick up your prize at the table by the graphic artist.

The winners are: Becky Turner. *(Applause)*

Bernard Lunzer, Pat Costello, Sylvia Ramos, Emily Tao, Christine Peter, David Trujillo, and that's it. Congratulations. *(Applause)*

All right. Now, for the moment you've been waiting for, the action sessions list. Everybody paying attention?

Today we have "Bankrupting Retirement: Retirement Security and Bankruptcy as an Employer Strategy," in Room 408A.

"Bargain Like an Organizer: Developing and Executing Strategic Contract Campaigns," in Room 406B.

"Building Coalitions for Job Creation: Public Transit," in Rooms 308A and B.

"Building Labor-Community Partnerships at State Federations and Central/Area Labor Councils," in Room 405.

"Common Sense Economics: Mass Education for a Mass Movement," in Room 403A. We're already putting that resolution to work, Rich.

"Facebook 101," held at the Boots Online Digital Strategies booth.

"Global Organizing Partnerships: U.S. Unions and International Partners Organizing in the Global Economy," in Rooms 306A and B.

"Inequality for All: Sneak Preview Film Screening and Discussion," on Solidarity Stage 2. You got my attention.

"Jobs to Move America: National Partnerships to Boost U.S. Manufacturing and Create Good Jobs in the Transportation Industry," in Room 408B.

"Labor Law for the Modern Economy: Past Challenges, Future Strategy," in Room 404A.

"No Workplace? No Problem: Building the Union Movement in the New Economy," on Solidarity Stage 1.

"OUR Walmart: Change Jobs, Change Retail and Change the World!"—I like that one—in Room 402B.

"Policy Initiatives That Enable Organizing: Living Wage and PLA Campaigns," in 402A.

"Union Veterans, You've Served Your Country: Make Your Voice Heard," in Room 404B.

And last, but not least, "Winning and Building Over Time: Winning in California and You Can, Too," in Room 403B.

Please be here back in the hall right at 2 p.m. Thank you very much.

(At 12:02 p.m., the convention was recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m.)



FOURTH DAY

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 2013

AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2:01 p.m., President Trumka presiding.

PRESIDENT RICHARD L. TRUMKA: The convention will now come to order.

Brothers and sisters, one of our delegates has lost a cross necklace. If you found a silver cross necklace, please turn it in to the AFL-CIO Convention Registration area on Level 1.

You found it?

She found it. Somebody turned it in. You're great. *(Applause)*

Now, it's with great sadness that I report that former ILA President and Executive Board Member Richie P. Hughes passed away earlier today in his native Baltimore, Maryland.

Richie served on the AFL-CIO Executive Council from 2008 until his retirement as ILA president in 2011. He was a good man, and I know his ILA family will miss him, and we will, too.

Will you please stand for a moment of silence in honor of our brother, Richie Hughes.

...A moment of silence was observed by the delegation.

TRUMKA: This afternoon we're going to take up two health care resolutions, discuss the American Labor Museum, bipartisan political action and the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund Museum and Memorial. Then we'll take up support for a political prisoner in Puerto Rico, and see a video from Brazil's former president, Lula da Silva, and finally have a sort of structured speak-out on "Where We Go From Here."

RESOLUTION NO. 15

Protecting and Expanding Medicare Benefits

TRUMKA: So we're now going to discuss Resolution 15, "Protecting and Expanding Medicare Benefits," submitted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council. Though not submitted by the Committee on Shared Prosperity in a Global Economy, this resolution is based largely on the work of that committee.

If there is one part of our health care system that works, it's Medicare. For more than 45 years, Medicare has delivered stable, reliable health care benefits to seniors and people with disabilities. Our support for Medicare stretches over decades, and in the face of today's relentless attacks on Medicare, we reaffirm that support. But, more importantly, we maintain our ironclad opposition to any and all proposals to cut Medicare benefits to shift costs to beneficiaries. *(Applause)*

We will adamantly oppose these kinds of proposals no matter who offers them. We say “no” to proposals to replace Medicare’s guaranteed benefits with premium support or voucher payments that end Medicare as we know it and simply hand it over to private insurance companies.

We say “no” to efforts to shift costs to Medicare beneficiaries, whether through increasing premiums, rising co-payments or taxing supplemental coverage. Proposals to impose burdensome new expenses on retiree households of modest means are more than wrong; they are unconscionable. Medicare should be improved, because doing so is essential to establishing it as a model for a universal single-payer system. Its benefits need to be more comprehensive, because beneficiaries can face large, uncapped and out-of-pocket costs. And any improvements must be designed so benefits are not reduced or cost-shifted to beneficiaries.

One other gap in Medicare’s benefits must be addressed: Seniors and people with disabilities must be assured access to affordable, long-term services and support in the most appropriate setting. (*Applause*)

The workers providing care deserve the same labor protections afforded other professionals. So instead of looking for ways to destroy Medicare, we should build on its experience in improving the delivery of health care benefits and providing more cost-effective benefits than private insurance companies.

The Executive Council recommends that Resolution 15, “Protecting and Expanding Medicare Benefits,” be adopted. Is there any discussion? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

KATHLEEN DONAHUE, AFT: Thank you, Mr. Chair. I’m a vice president of the New York State United Teachers and on the Executive Board of the American Federation of Teachers. (*Applause*)

I rise in support of the AFL resolution on protecting and expanding Medicare benefits. Most importantly, this resolution gives the AFL-CIO the policy foundation to continue fighting any and all proposals to privatize Medicare. It also provides the policy foundation to continue fighting proposals to cut benefits or to shift the costs to beneficiaries in the form of rising payments, increasing premiums, taxing supplemental coverage or raising the Medicare eligibility age.

This resolution does acknowledge that there is a problem. Costs keep going up. But the resolution clearly states that we can solve the issues that this creates for Medicare by closing loopholes that currently tie the hands of the program.

If we allow Medicare to directly negotiate lower drug prices, Medicare could save hundreds of billions of dollars. That’s hundreds of billions of dollars.

The great majority of Medicare beneficiaries are not rich. Most have very modest incomes and half have incomes of less than 200% of the federal poverty level. Medicare beneficiaries have worked hard all their lives. We honor their work and we honor their retirement.

We, therefore, call on the federal government and Congress to close the loopholes. We call on the federal government and Congress to solve the problems of rising costs through negotiations with those who have the money: the drug companies and Wall Street. After all, those profit-rich drug companies and Wall

Street funds will not suffer by having to earn modest instead of bloated profits.

Let's stand by those who have given of themselves, retirees, and people with disabilities, and protect and promote Medicare, a program that works.

Brothers and sisters, I urge adoption of this motion. Thank you. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister.

Further discussion? Seeing none, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 15. The Executive Council recommends that you vote for the resolution.

Those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Come on, we can do better than that.

Those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no.

Thank you. The resolution is adopted. (*Applause*)

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 15

Protecting and Expanding Medicare Benefits

FOR MORE THAN 45 YEARS, Medicare has delivered stable, reliable health care to seniors and people with disabilities and has done so in a more cost-effective manner than private health plans. We reaffirm our support for Medicare and our ironclad opposition to any and all proposals to cut Medicare benefits or shift costs to beneficiaries.

Today, Medicare is under relentless attack by a do-nothing Republican Congress bent on reducing its benefits and sacrificing the health and well-being of seniors and people with disabilities on the altar of deficit reduction. While they may say otherwise, Republicans want to cut Medicare benefits and shift costs to patients, to pay for tax breaks for Wall Street and the richest 2% of Americans.

We must continue to defend Medicare from these unwarranted attacks and proposals to replace its guaranteed benefits with premium support or voucher payments that would effectively end Medicare as we know it and hand it over to private insurance companies.

We will continue to oppose efforts to shift costs to Medicare beneficiaries in other ways—such as increasing premiums, raising co-payments, taxing supplemental coverage or raising the Medicare eligibility age. Proposals of this kind only impose burdensome new expenses on households of modest means.

Workers and retirees are faced with a flood of proposals to address rising health costs by shifting those costs directly onto individuals. Proponents of these plans argue that if individuals have more “skin in the game” through higher out-of-pocket spending, patients will use less unnecessary care and bring down health cost growth. Medicare beneficiaries already have plenty of “skin in the game” as they spend 15% of their income on health care, on average, and more than \$38,000 out

of pocket during their last five years of life. Premiums and cost-sharing for Medicare already account for one-fourth of the average Social Security benefit and eventually will eat up more than one-third of those modest benefits if cost growth in the health care system is not brought under control.

Instead of cuts and cost shifting, we call for improvements to Medicare. Doing so is an essential prerequisite to establishing it as a model for a universal, single-payer system. Its benefits have long been less comprehensive than typical employer-sponsored insurance, leaving beneficiaries vulnerable to large, uncapped, out-of-pocket costs. Any such improvements must not be designed to cut benefits or shift costs to beneficiaries. Medicare beneficiaries have modest incomes and high health care needs. Asking this group—half of whom have annual incomes below \$22,000, less than 200% of the federal poverty level—to pay more is simply unconscionable.

We also need to ensure that seniors and people with disabilities have access to affordable long-term services and support in the most appropriate setting. In addition, the workers who provide this care deserve to be covered by the same labor and health and safety protections afforded any other profession.

According to official projections, the United States is facing severe health care cost growth throughout our public and private health care system that is unsustainable for families and businesses. The right way to contain health care cost growth is to deliver care in more cost-effective ways and to treat this challenge as an economy-wide problem, not just a Medicare problem, a shortcoming of Medicaid or a flaw in employment-based or individual plans. Medicare and Medicaid have been and continue to be more cost effective than private insurance.

Instead of cuts to benefits and services, just closing the loophole that prohibits Medicare from negotiating lower drug prices with drug companies or applying the Medicaid rebate to drugs for low-income Medicare beneficiaries could save hundreds of billions of dollars. Creating a robust public option that offers premiums 5% to 7% lower than private health insurance and partners with Medicare to implement cost-saving reforms, and expanding Medicare competitive bidding to all health products and all other health programs, could add much more in savings.

Instead of looking for ways to destroy Medicare, which has been a leader in improving our dysfunctional health care system, we must build on its experience as a single-payer program, demonstrating that single payer is the most cost-effective and equitable way to provide quality health care.

(End Resolution No. 15)

RESOLUTION NO. 54

AFL-CIO Convention Resolution on the Affordable Care Act

TRUMKA: Now on to Resolution 54, "AFL-CIO Convention Resolution on the

Affordable Care Act,” submitted by the Building and Construction Trades Department, the International Union of Operating Engineers and the American Federation of Teachers.

Resolution 54 supports the Affordable Care Act’s goal of securing high-quality affordable health care and addresses a number of serious issues in the act’s implementation—particularly, but not exclusively, relating to its treatment of multiemployer plans. The resolution calls for the preservation of high-quality coverage under multiemployer plans and for greater employer responsibility under the law, especially towards part-time workers.

As many of the delegates know, the labor movement is engaged in an ongoing dialogue with a number of federal government agencies regarding the implementation of the Affordable Care Act, specifically the way the law is applied to collectively bargained multiemployer funds.

The issues involved are ones of fundamental fairness. Will our low- and moderate-income members and our collectively bargained health funds be able to benefit from the premium supports that big insurance companies get? Will our funds and our members have to pay fees to subsidize big insurance companies while we receive no benefit from those fees ourselves? Will smaller employers be able to get away with taking health care away from our members while paying no penalty?

The Executive Committee met and felt strongly that the leadership of the labor movement needed the support of a clear resolution from this convention on the achievements of the Affordable Care Act, the problems created by the implementation of the act for collectively bargained funds, and for continuing focus on our ultimate goal of health care for all through the single-payer model.

I’d like to now call upon the proponents of the resolution. In order, first I’ll call on the president of the Building and Construction Trades Department, Sean McGarvey. Sean.

VICE PRESIDENT SEAN MCGARVEY, Building and Construction Trades

Department: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, brothers and sisters. I’m a member of the Painters International and I’m president of the Buildings Trades.

Let me first apologize for my speech. I haven’t been drinking at lunch. I had a tooth repaired, and I’ve still got a little Novocain going on.

First of all, Mr. Chairman, I’d like to thank you. I’d like to thank you not just for your leadership on this issue over the last couple months, but I’d like to thank you for a lifetime of dedication to health care for all and the work that you’ve done on behalf of all of us. *(Applause)*

I’d like to thank the chairman and the members of the Resolutions Committee for their patience. I’d like to thank the dozens of union leaders in this room who worked with us to make sure we had a sensitive—a resolution to bring before this convention, and I’d like to thank President Obama for having the courage and the political fortitude to take the stand once and for all to put us on the path for health care for all in this country. *(Applause)*

We’ve achieved many things through the Affordable Care Act, and we’re very pleased with those. But like the president said, we have some deficiencies. We’ve been engaged in conversation. Rich has been leading a delegation as we attempt to

make these changes, but the clock is ticking on us and real serious changes—if we're not able to make some solutions to some of the problems we've identified—are coming to the existing employee-based coverage in our plans across the country.

So this resolution just points out and arms our leader and our team of leaders in these discussions on the key facts that need to be addressed, if possible, by the administration, and later on, if need be, by the United States Congress.

So for that, Mr. Chairman, I applaud your leadership, I thank you for the opportunity to present this resolution, and I urge the adoption of Resolution 54. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Brother Sean? Brother Sean? I just want to pay back the favor. Thanks for your leadership, my brother. Thank you.

McGARVEY: Thank you, Rich.

TRUMKA: Next, Sister Johnson from the AFT.

VICE PRESIDENT LORRETTA JOHNSON, AFT: I'm a proud member of the American Federation of Teachers, and I'm also the secretary-treasurer.

I rise in support of the Resolution 54 and I urge each and every delegate in the room to vote in favor of its adoption.

One of the small "whereas" clauses of the resolution says it all. This resolution is not to be a comprehensive list of benefits and the problems of the ACA. Instead, the ACA resolution takes on the immediate problems of ways in which the ACA is being implemented by federal agencies.

Brothers and sisters, this resolution clearly states that we support the ACA goals of securing high-quality coverage for all Americans. Importantly, it notes that the ACA rolls out. It's still a work of progress.

As everyone knows, the devil is always in the details. Should we walk away from the details? Never. We don't do that in our contract negotiations, we don't do that when we are passing legislation, and we won't do that when something as important as changing our nation's health care system is at stake.

This resolution says that all laborers stand with our brothers and sisters who receive their health insurance from the Taft-Hartley plans. Those plans exist because the commercial insurance industry couldn't be bothered with low-wage workers, or workers whose schedules were different from theirs.

The federal agencies that are implementing the ACA seem to have forgotten the vital role that the Taft-Hartley plans had for millions of workers and for key industries.

In the case of my union, the federal agency implementing ACA doesn't seem to be aware that the supplemental benefits welfare plans are exactly that, supplemental.

In New York City, state, and in our place as well, many unions have supplemental benefits welfare plans. Our welfare plans simply give us a chance to add on benefits that aren't in any of the major medical plans we negotiate with our employer, yet, federal agencies want to treat these supplemental plans as if they are big insurance companies.

Finally, the federal agency implementing the ACA seems to think employers in this country are angelic. But we are seeing employer after employer cut hours so as to avoid the 30-hour definition of a full-time employee. In my union, we are seeing this in school districts with paraprofessionals, bus drivers, substitute teachers and cafeteria workers having their hours cut. We see it in higher education, where thousands of adjuncts have had the number of courses they teach cut. We see it in health care with our nurses, technicians and other staff that have had their schedule cut. We see cuts of hours among our public employees.

This resolution is not the problem, this resolution addresses the problem. This resolution is solution-oriented. This resolution is honest. This resolution provides a road map for all who care about making sure that the ACA is a success.

Every one of us in this room has fought to make the lives of working people better. We have never shrunk away from a fight. We have never allowed anyone to silence us in a fight. This resolution says we will not be silent, we will be allies, but never silent allies. We will never be silent and allow our partners to make a mistake. We will be solution-driven.

Brothers and sisters, I urge you to adopt this resolution.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. (*Applause*) President Terry O'Sullivan from the Laborers. Terry.

VICE PRESIDENT TERRY O'SULLIVAN, Laborers' International Union of North

America: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm general president of the Laborers' International Union of North America, and a 39-year member of LIUNA.

On behalf of the Laborers' International Union, I rise to support Resolution No. 54. While we have concerns that it does not go far enough because, brothers and sisters, if the Affordable Care Act is not fixed and it destroys the health and welfare funds that we have all fought for and stand for, then I believe it needs to be repealed.

We don't want it repealed, we want it fixed, fixed, fixed. And I commend Rich Trumka and the AFL-CIO for leading that charge.

Each and every one of us in this room knows the positive aspects of the Affordable Care Act. There are many, and we all support those. But we can't have the unintended consequences for all the proud men and women we represent to be collateral damage in the health care fight in this country. (*Applause*)

We're getting our ass kicked here and everywhere when it comes to retirement security, and now our health and welfare funds are under siege. So we beg the president, we ask the president, we ask the Congress of the United States of America, to do the right thing—to do the right thing for the proud men and women that we represent.

There isn't a union member in our movement that has ever been a drag on the health care system in this country. We've not only paid our fair share, but through cost shifting we have paid for the indigent and the poor, and each and every one of us is proud of that and we will continue to do that. But we'll be damned if we're going to lose our health insurance because of unintended consequences in a law.

It needs to be changed, it needs to be fixed, and it needs to be fixed now, brothers and sisters. *(Applause)*

Our union, like yours, was founded 110 years ago, and each and every one of us beams with pride about the history of our organizations. And each of our organizations has in its history, historic moments, historic fights. I love listening to Cecil when he talks about the Mine Workers, and Rich, and the history of their organization.

We fought, we went on strike, we laid down in the street to get health insurance. We can't afford to have a law that takes it away. We will work with the president to do everything we possibly can to make the Affordable Care Act work for the proud men and women of the American labor movement.

You know, we came here to talk about a new movement, and we're for that. Let's not forget about the old movement, the one that got us here in the first place, the men and women, the retirees that are banking on us to stand tall and to stand strong and to make sure, as the president said, "If you like your health insurance, you can keep it."

We want him to live up to that promise, and we will work with him to do that.

Vice President Biden—I won't use his exact words right—but I remember, and you remember, the picture of him whispering in the president's ear with the passage of the Affordable Care Act, and he said that this is a big freakin' deal. Well, we need to make sure that we raise our voices loud, brothers and sisters, and say it's going to be a big freakin' deal if our members lose our health insurance.

So on behalf of the Laborers' International Union, I stand to support Resolution Number 54 and ask for you to do the same. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: So in summary, the resolution calls for significant changes in how the Affordable Care Act is administered and for Congress to amend the Affordable Care Act to the extent necessary to address the concerns raised in the resolution.

The Executive Council unanimously voted to refer Resolution 54 to the convention, and the Executive Council recommends Resolution 54 be adopted by the convention. Is there any discussion? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

VICE PRESIDENT EDWIN D. HILL, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm the president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and a proud 56-year member, in case anybody is interested. *(Applause)*

I also want to recognize your leadership, Mr. Chairman. It's been a difficult few days for you, and I appreciate your patience, I appreciate your understanding of where the IBEW particularly is, and the rest of my colleagues.

But I want to say that on July 16th, 2009, President Obama clearly stated the following, and I quote: "No matter how we reform health care, we will keep this promise: If you like your doctor, you'll be able to keep your doctor, period. If you like your health care plan, you'll be able to keep your health care plan, period. No one will take it away, no matter what. My view is that health care reform should be guided by simply one principle, fix the broken and build on what works."

We supported the president then. We support the president now. But it's clear that the ACA as it currently stands is not meeting his promise. The sad fact is that the law will devastate a similar part of health care, a successful part, health care coverage for some 20 million workers, retirees and family members provided through collective bargaining that we all stand here to do.

The resolution spells out the damage that will be done to multiemployer plans in construction and several other industries. There are nonprofit plans jointly administered by an equal number of trustees from labor and management.

Mr. Chairman, we've worked 65 years to build up these plans, but because the ACA doesn't recognize their unique nature, we could lose it all. And we're not alone, and we're not about to let that happen.

Let me put it this way. If an employer went after your health care plans, we'd fight them tooth and nail, we'd hit the streets, we'd scream and holler.

If an employer wanted to transfer money from a nonprofit successful health care plan to a for-profit insurance company, we'd be on the streets.

We're not interested in some abstract principle or some so-called political reality. Tell that to the hard-working members, the hard-working lineman recovering from some injury. Tell that to the electrician. A million current members and retirees are letting down these aspiring workers in the next generation as well.

Even this morning I debated with myself what I thought this convention should do with this issue and how strong our response should be. But the bottom line, Mr. Chairman, is that if a gathering of trade unionists as we are here today don't have the courage and can't summon the courage to stand up for our memberships and respectfully but firmly demand changes in the ACA, then what the hell are we doing here?

TRUMKA: Brother Ed, I'm going to have to ask you to conclude. We're now into formal debate and the limit is three minutes on each speaker.

HILL: Thank you very much. So let me ask, simply, let's support this resolution and then get on about fixing it. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

VICE PRESIDENT GREGORY J. JUNEMANN, International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers: Mr. Chairman, I'm the president of the International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers. *(Applause)*

For my applause line, I'm also the obedient husband of an AFSCME member. *(Cheers and applause)*

I stand in strong support of this resolution. I supported a resolution on health care at the last convention. I probably supported a resolution on health care at every convention I've been to since I had a full head of hair and all of it was brown.

TRUMKA: That's been some time ago.

JUNEMANN: And I'll come to the next convention and probably support another resolution on health care, because we need this.

But I think much more important than having a comprehensive policy on health care, is the United States of America needs a policy on health care. I don't think it should be three pages long, and I really do appreciate all the work that went into this. But I think the United States health care policy, I could write it. I'd volunteer to write. It wouldn't take me long. I'd do it in 11 letters, two words, "single payer."
(Applause)

We need to have a policy—Brother Gerard keeps reminding us that we talk about, you know, Americans will do the right thing after they've tried everything else. Well, we tried a system where if you're rich enough or you're healthy enough or maybe you're lucky enough to work for the right employer, you'll get insurance. Well, we've seen co-pays, out-of-pocket expense holes in these plans.

And now we reach a point where if you've got a morally responsible plan, there's actually something in the Affordable Care Act that's going to tax those plans. Well, those plans are morally responsible because we fought for those plans, we fought to make them responsible. We fought for everything that was in them. Those plans shouldn't be taxed.

But you know, if we finally had a single-payer system where we didn't have to worry about insurance. We don't come here and pass policies about affordable democracy for all, affordable equality, affordable retirement security. We shouldn't have affordable insurance for everybody, affordable insurance for some.

We should have health care for every man, woman and child in this country, regardless of political station, and that will be done under single payer. And once we get a single-payer plan in this country, Mr. Chair, then we can stop coming here and debating health care policies because we'll actually have a plan that will work for all of us.

In the meantime, I strongly urge the support of this resolution. I thank you so much for your leadership and for the leadership of the people that put this resolution together. Please support this resolution. Thank you. (Applause)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Greg. The Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

VICE PRESIDENT ROBERT A. SCARDELLETTI, Transportation Communications

Union/IAM: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for having this debate. I'm national president of the Transportation Communications Union/IAM. I'm a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council. I'm a railroader and I'm a 46-year union member.

I rise to support the resolution. I support President Obama. And we all want health care for all. The president said if you have health care, you won't be affected. Well, that is not true. It wasn't true when he said it and it's not true today.

Benefits that took us a lifetime to achieve are under attack. For us in the rail industry, it took a bitter strike in 1955, when a brother carman was murdered on the picket line by company goons, for railroaders to achieve employer-paid health benefits. I will never forget the sacrifices made by all who came before us so that we could have the good health care we have today.

You are no different. For all of us it has been a never-ending fight. You all have your own stories just like I have mine. But for all of us it's a never-ending fight, first to get it, then to keep it, then to improve it. Sometimes we had a strike. Sometimes we gave up wages. We always did whatever it takes to keep our health care.

Union plans, they are not Cadillac plans. That's a disgrace to say that. That's offensive. They are what our members need and deserve. They are what makes us union. *(Applause)*

Next year the freight rail industry, where I negotiate, will have to pay \$27 million in new taxes on our railroad plan. They have already told me that's coming out of our wages at the next round of bargaining. States and cities are telling our public workers they must share in the costs of these fees, and you've heard about the Taft-Hartley plans. When the excise tax hits, we're all doomed. The only way to avoid that crippling tax is to negotiate high-deductible plans, and I've spent my entire career fighting high-deductible plans. *(Applause)*

Sisters and brothers, let this convention of America's greatest labor unions send a strong and clear message to the White House: Do not kill our union plans. Do not tax our benefits. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes delegate at mike 1.

UNIDENTIFIED DELEGATE: I yield my time to the next speaker, Mr. President.

VICE PRESIDENT JOSEPH J. NIGRO, International Association of Sheet Metal, Air, Rail and Transportation Workers: Does that mean I get six minutes?

TRUMKA: No.

NIGRO: I tried.

TRUMKA: Good try, Joe.

NIGRO: I'm the general president of the SMART union, Sheet Metal, Air, Rail and Transportation. These are my proud delegates. These members stand with me today so you understand the importance of this resolution.

This resolution is the make or break of a lot of unions in this room. It is not just the building trades that this affects. I would tell you that a bad bill is the worst thing we could inherit. I would tell you that this is our opportunity as a real labor organization to stand up and be counted. All week we've heard about the action plan. A resolution is a piece of paper, and it may offend a lot of politicians.

We're a labor movement who is run by labor leaders, who represents working men and women of this country, not politicians. *(Applause)*

I do not like offending any person—never mind a politician, although I have my doubts that they're human. *(Laughter)*

The fact of the matter is this: Take a look around this room, whether it's UNITE HERE, SMART, UA, Laborers, or anybody else in this room—the mariners, the sea mariners.

President Hill said it best. For 65 years we fought for health care. It wasn't given to any of us. We went on strike for it, we took it out of our wages. Nobody paid for it. It came out of our pockets.

You allow an ACA bill to go through like this, I guarantee you, by your next convention four years from now, you won't need a quarter of this room; we won't be here.

So I ask you, are we going to stand up and fight for every working man and woman in this country and protect health care and give them good health care, not some passive thing that a politician put on his résumé as he retires with our money, our insurance? It's all about them.

This is the one opportunity at a convention that we as labor leaders can represent our people the way we are supposed to. I ask you to stand up and ask for action on this and let the government know, whoever's in office, we're not going to take it anymore. We're going to fight for our workers. Every one of our members is important to us, and we want resolution.

Rich, I thank you for all you've done here. I know how hard you work, I know it's tough. But I want to tell you something, we have to win this one. (*Standing ovation*)

TRUMKA: The chair calls on the delegate at mike 2.

DAVID HEINDEL, Seafarers International Union: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm the secretary-treasurer of the Seafarers International Union of North America, and I rise in support of this resolution. The Seafarers, we live a very strange life. We're not just a bunch of drunks like a lot of the movies portray us, we're professionals. We, like many of you in here, work through hiring halls, our members come and go.

We believe we're the last free society on work. Our members work when they want to work, they take vacation when they want to take vacation, and it's important for us to protect what our members expect and what we have fought hard for at the bargaining table.

Our members, their families and our retirees receive these medical benefits through the Seafarers benefit plans, just like many of you here. It's a Taft-Hartley fund, and it's something that we've built over the last 40 years.

In the maritime industry, like I said, we work very different schedules. Our guys work one month on, two months on, three months on—five, six, seven months at a time. They come home, they work—they stay home for two or three months, if that's what they decide. And when they're home they get benefits. It's not like they have to make a premium every month or their employer makes a premium. Because they work through the hiring hall system, we have a multiemployer plan, and they enjoy that. Their families need it, they expect it. When our members are out at sea, they want to know their dependents are covered while they are laboring.

Commercial health care, insurance companies have never wanted to insure us because of the way we work, so we had to build our own system, and it's something that our members and us deserve and come to expect.

Our Taft-Hartley plans have been found to provide great health benefits for all Seafarers, their families and retirees. It has meant that Seafarers have health

insurance for themselves and their families, and no matter whether they work on tankers, freighters, boats, tug boats, work in the Pacific Ocean, the Atlantic Ocean, down in the Gulf of Mexico, they know they're covered. It doesn't matter where they work. As long as they maintain a certain number of days a year, they are going to have health care coverage today and when they retire.

Our Taft-Hartley plans also help our military. It provides our military prepositioning ships with the cargo that they need and depend on when they are either fighting a battle or preparing to go to war. Our Seafarers are there, and we need to make sure that our Seafarers have the benefits that our Seafarers have come to expect.

Therefore, Brother Trumka, we pledge to work with you, the AFL-CIO and the brothers and sisters in this room to make the changes that are necessary to protect our plans that we have come to know and love. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

JENNIFER DRUDGE, United Steelworkers: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm a proud family member of the United Steelworkers. We come and we rise in support of Resolution 54. As we realize, there's some issues that need to be worked out. It has greatly benefited my family, and I'd like to share the story with all of you.

Imagine a family of five, a mom, dad, twin 6-year-old boys, and a 3-year-old little sassy girl named Micah. Well, that's my sister, my brother-in-law, my nephews and my niece.

Imagine that 3-year-old being born with a congenital heart defect, specifically, a pulmonary valve stenosis. She didn't ask for that, nor did she ask for the stigma of a pre-existing condition.

Imagine at four months old, and at 1 year old, your little baby is going in for an open-heart surgery. They're going to stop her beating heart for about 13 minutes to repair it. Imagine being that parent and watching your baby being wheeled away into the operating room, then to see your baby hooked up to every IV line, tubes, breathing tube, and to be left with a scar across the chest. That little fighter, she's courageous and brave.

Imagine being told that your baby would have to do this type of surgery at least two more times in her life, and one probably before this Christmas.

Now imagine, as a mom and dad, their insurance statement, to see that they've reached three quarters of their lifetime cap by her first birthday. Imagine having to decide which therapies to let their baby go through: speech therapy, occupational therapy. Not something parents should have to decide upon because they're reaching that lifetime cap, so to not bankrupt their family.

Imagine, finally, the Affordable Health Care Act is passed, no worries about bills, no worries about money, per se, and no worry about a pre-existing condition. The insurance cap is lifted.

Imagine being able to concentrate just on your baby who has this heart condition.

Please, I urge you to please pass this resolution. Think of Micah. Think of the Affordable Care Act and my little niece. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

VICE PRESIDENT D. TAYLOR, UNITE HERE: I'm from UNITE HERE, president of UNITE HERE. First, it has been said, but I think everybody in this hall should recognize the work that Rich Trumka has done on this issue, and to deal with a whole variety of opinions at times and bring them together on this very complex issue is somewhat remarkable. We all owe you a great amount of gratitude in your leadership on this issue, Rich.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother D.

TAYLOR: I want to state that I love Obamacare. I think it's great that millions upon millions of Americans are going to get health care for the very first time. We should not lose sight of that, as Terry O'Sullivan said.

I like the fact that Obamacare does what, frankly, our union plans have done for a long time, no pre-existing conditions, et cetera. We should not lose sight of that.

But I fully endorse and think what has been said about action needs to happen in order to fix Obamacare. Because it is a remarkable situation that the earliest and the biggest supporters of the president were right here in this hall. We have stood and fought for his agenda and the Democratic agenda, rightfully so. We're the biggest proponents of real health care reform.

Despite all that, when we hear that they can't do it because it's the law, I want to remind you when they waived the employer mandate for a year, that's against the law, and they did it. When they made the special deal for the Capitol Hill staff people, that was against the law. When they made the deal that somehow or another the contraceptive part of the ACA had to be changed because the pressure of the Catholic church, that was against the law.

So they have conveniently said what's in the law and what's outside the law and what they can do at their convenience. And that's not surprising, because they have responded to people and to organizations that fight for their beliefs.

So I think what's been said before about this resolution is absolutely true. It's one thing to pass a resolution, it's a second thing to fight for it. It's not just the administration. We have got to talk to U.S. senators, U.S. Congress people, not in Washington, D.C., but in your district, in their offices, to take delegations and have them look at our members in the eye and tell them in the eye that they should have their health care.

As one U.S. Senator's aide told us, "regress to the mean." In other words, get hit and have a reduction on a health care plan that allows people to live a good life.

So I endorse this resolution, but I think more importantly, we've got to follow up with action to hold everybody accountable to the very simple premise if you like your health care plan, you can keep it. Thank you very much.

TRUMKA: Thank you. *(Applause)* As you know, the rules of the convention say that every resolution will be debated for no longer than 30 minutes. We have seven minutes left of debate time. Chair calls on the delegate at mike 2.

MATT SCHLOBOHM, Maine AFL-CIO: Thank you, Mr. President. I'm executive director of the Maine AFL-CIO.

I think we all recognize that the ACA is a point on the road. It's a point that's defined by incredible strengths and incredible weaknesses.

In Maine, we've been fighting like hell to expand Medicaid to 65,000 people through this act. Our tea party governor has vetoed that. But when you listen to those people's stories, when you listen to their dreams and their aspirations and the horrors they've faced in this health care system, you recognize the advances that this bill has made, and the advances that we need to support to make health care a fundamental human right.

In the same breath, you also recognize the fundamental shortcomings. The labor movement made health care a fundamental human right for 20 million people, 20 million people who are covered through nonprofit multiemployer plans. We need to fight like hell to make sure that that is not compromised one iota.

I also rise in support of this resolution because I think it keeps their eyes on the ultimate prize, the prize of making health care a fundamental human right across the land through an expanded and improved Medicare for all system, a national single-payer system. *(Applause)*

I think we should not forget for a moment what that would actually mean for people. If health care was guaranteed cradle to grave, what it would mean for our economy if suddenly we didn't spend 18% of our GDP on health insurance.

We all know what the fundamental problem with our health care system is. It's drenched in profit and greed, and the insurance companies and the pharmaceutical companies have a stranglehold on that system. Until we slay that dragon, we will not have the kind of health care system that everyone in this country deserves.

The labor movement needs to lead that fight. It needs to be at the forefront of organizing workers and fighting to make health care a fundamental human right that's guaranteed from cradle to grave for everyone, regardless of race, regardless of employment status, and regardless of anything else.

We can win that fight, we can lead that fight, and that's where we need to go, and I'd urge you to support this resolution. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Delegate at mike 3.

NELLIE CARABALLO, Lorain County (Ohio) AFL-CIO Federation of Labor: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm a delegate with the Lorain County AFL-CIO. I'm a member of the North Coast Area Labor Federation. I'm the treasurer for the Northeast Coast LCLAA chapter. I'm a proud member of the United Steelworkers. *(Applause)*

I stand here today in support of this resolution in the memory of my mother. My mother, after 23 years working at a nursing home, retired without health care. In 1998, at the age of 63, she was diagnosed with cancer. She had complained of pain in her shoulder, and the doctor told her not to worry about it, that it was in her head. That was three tumors on her shoulder.

January of 1998, she was diagnosed with those three tumors, and in March of 1998, she died. We believe that if she would have had health care—if she would have

had health care that she could have afforded to buy on her own, maybe now, 15 years later, at the age of 77, she may still be with us today. She may have been able to see her grandchildren graduate, get married, and love on some beautiful great grandchildren.

So I stand up today in support of this resolution, and I call for each and every one of us to support this resolution. But this does not stop here today. As everyone else said, we have a lot of work to do, and this is what this great labor organization has always done, I believe will do, and I believe that we will leave this convention building to go back to our homes in our labor houses and take this message back that we have to fix this. We have to protect our health care programs that we have negotiated.

The fight isn't over. We have a long fight to do, but we're up to it. So let's support this Resolution Number 54. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. We have about a minute-and-a-half left of debate time. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

KATHRYN DONAHUE, National Nurses United: Thank you, Mr. Chair and brothers and sisters here at the convention. I am a proud member of the California Nurses Association and the National Nurses Organizing Committee. I also sit on the Board of Directors for the California Nurses Association.

I stand here before you today and ask for all the people of this country, when health care access can be available and guaranteed to every person. The Affordable Care Act does not solve the health care crisis facing all the people. Not just working people, but all the people.

I want to give a few facts, because I have to hurry, the ACA provides for four tiers of insurance coverage. One can purchase a bronze, silver, gold or platinum health insurance policy which covers, respectively, 60, 70, 80, 90% of medical costs. Each level has an ascending cost for purchasing an insurance policy with the co-payments and deductibles following suit, and are much higher for the lower tiers of insurance coverage. This will certainly not improve access to health care, which is what is the issue. Not that health care insurance is purchased, but do you have access.

Nurses see this problem daily as we work to save those who have waited too long due to costs in seeking health care. They simply cannot afford the co-payments and the deductibles required. ACA will also not remove the issue of health care benefits from collective bargaining, and we continue to fight that battle.

Close to 70% of the U.S. population wants a single-payer health care program, Medicare for all system. The labor movement must walk this walk if we are ever to achieve health care access for all.

We must not be afraid to stand tall for health care access for all. New and improved expanded Medicare for all.

A single standard of care, a single-payer system of privately provided government administered health care, just as every other—

TRUMKA: Sister, I'm going to have to ask you to wrap up. We're over.

DONAHUE: Thank you. Every other industrial nation provides its citizens.

I had some more facts, but I will exclude them. I just want to finish by saying Resolution 54 is problematic, as it allows our health care to be held hostage to the greedy and highly profitable health insurance industry. Health care is a human right and has a market-based approach. They have no place in health care.

For these reasons, the nurses stand in opposition to Resolution 54 and ask that those that are part of the single-payer majority stand tall with the nurses. Thank you, sisters and brothers.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Time has expired for debate.

The question is on the adoption of Resolution 54. The Executive Council recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no.

The ayes clearly have it.

Thank you. *(Applause)*

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 54

AFL-CIO Convention Resolution on the Affordable Care Act

WHEREAS, in 2009, the AFL-CIO Convention passed two health care resolutions—Health Care Reform Now and the Social Insurance Model for Health Care Reform—which reaffirmed the labor movement’s commitment to health care for all, ultimately through a single-payer system. In 2010, Congress passed the Affordable Care Act (ACA);

WHEREAS, the AFL-CIO continues to support the ACA’s goal of securing high-quality, affordable health coverage for all Americans; three years after the passage of the Affordable Care Act, we reaffirm our commitment to the goal of affordable, quality health care for all but recognize that the ACA remains a work in progress;

WHEREAS, the ACA’s expansion of comprehensive health insurance to 25 million more Americans, support for affordability through expanded Medicaid eligibility and premium subsidies and insurance market reforms are clear gains for working families. The new law also has eliminated some of the worst insurance company abuses, cut costs for seniors, and appears to be contributing to lower rates for individual coverage in states like California and New York;

WHEREAS, the federal agencies administering the ACA have interpreted the Act in ways that are threatening the ability of workers to keep health care coverage through some collectively bargained, non-profit health care funds. Republican governors in many states have refused to participate in implementing the Act and are even actively blocking efforts to provide health care to all through Medicaid expansion;

WHEREAS, for decades before the enactment of the Affordable Care Act, such quality, affordable health coverage has been provided to workers and their families through non-profit multiemployer health plans negotiated between unions and participating employers, including the approximately 20 million individuals covered by such plans today;

WHEREAS, the health coverage provided through multiemployer plans has met the goals of the Affordable Care Act by providing portable, affordable, high-quality coverage for workers who would otherwise be left out of typical employer plans, including participants in industries where employment is mobile or part-time;

WHEREAS, multiemployer health plans have been attractive to employers because they provide predictable, consistent and cost-effective long-term health coverage for workers;

WHEREAS, multiemployer health plans have been attractive to employees because they provide a consumer-oriented plan design, portability, stability and flexibility;

WHEREAS, contrary to the law's intent, some workers might not be able to keep their coverage and their doctors because the federal agencies' current implementation plans will be highly disruptive to the operation of Taft-Hartley multiemployer plans, substantially changing the coverage available for millions of covered employees and their families;

WHEREAS, the federal agencies tasked with implementing the law have unnecessarily imposed an interpretation of the Affordable Care Act which imposes additional costs and fees for which plan participants receive no benefit, unnecessarily driving coverage costs higher;

WHEREAS, in industries like construction, where 93 percent of employers are considered small under the ACA, the playing field is now even more tilted in favor of companies that shirk responsibility toward their workers;

WHEREAS, current negotiation of collective bargaining agreements setting the terms of health insurance coverage for plan participants are already demonstrating the adverse impact of the application of the Affordable Care Act to multiemployer plans;

WHEREAS, the multiemployer plan community, including the AFL-CIO and other labor organizations, has engaged the Administration since the passage of the Affordable Care Act to work toward a legally supportable regulatory approach that would enable multiemployer plans to continue to provide the valuable coverage they provide today and to allow participants to keep the coverage they have;

WHEREAS, unless changes are made, the ACA will effectively use taxpayer dollars to subsidize employers that refuse to take responsibility for providing their

employees health care, placing more responsible employers at a competitive disadvantage, and destabilizing the employment-based health care system. At the same time, the ACA will be taxing non-profit worker health plans for the exclusive benefit of for-profit insurance companies. Employers will then have a financial incentive to drop coverage and force low-wage workers onto the exchanges, making it nearly impossible for those workers' plans to continue. The end result will be that millions more workers and their families will be forced onto the exchanges, increasing the costs of the exchanges to the federal government and undermining the finances of the ACA;

WHEREAS, the labor movement has pushed for a requirement in the ACA that all employers assume responsibility for contributing toward the cost of health care for their employees, either by offering health benefits or by making substantial contributions to a public fund to finance coverage for uninsured workers;

WHEREAS, the ACA includes a limited employer responsibility penalty that applies just to medium and large employers, and then only for employees who work 30 or more hours per week on average, it falls short of what is needed to prevent irresponsible employer behavior. Employers are preparing to avoid paying penalties by cutting workers' hours and pay, thereby creating a new underclass of less-than-30-hour workers;

WHEREAS, we must not shift costs to working families and retirees or endanger the quality of care or limit access to care by underfunding urban, safety-net hospitals and other critical providers. ACA's payment and delivery reforms are an important step toward lowering costs, but they should be implemented in a way that protects the availability of services for our communities. And the cuts in reimbursement to hospitals and other providers should be accompanied by stronger mechanisms to ensure the maintenance of safe staffing and effective care delivery;

WHEREAS, workers should not be penalized for negotiating good health care benefits by having them subjected to special taxation—particularly so long as the tax system as a whole is tilted so severely in the direction of the very rich;

WHEREAS, denying eligibility for health benefits to immigrants on the path to citizenship is not only cruel, but also short-sighted given the important connections between coverage expansion and controlling the growth of health costs;

WHEREAS, it has been a common practice for public unions in New York and elsewhere to build a benefit structure through three different plans: 1) a comprehensive basic health plan negotiated with the employer, providing hospital, medical and related benefits; 2) a per-employee cash contribution to a union-sponsored welfare trust fund that is used to provide supplemental benefits such as prescription drugs and other health care benefits; and 3) voluntary member-paid benefits, sponsored by the union or union trust funds for insurances like umbrella policies that cover

catastrophic health care claims. Under the current construction of the ACA, each separate insurer (or plan if the benefit is self-funded) will pay the Transitional Reinsurance (TR) and Patient Centered Outcomes Research Institute (PCORI) fees. This means that these fees will be levied three times on the same group of workers. These fees should only be charged once and only to the plan sponsor of the base health plan, as is the ACA rule for single employers;

WHEREAS, the ACA Excise Tax, Reinsurance Fee and other fees will drive the costs of collectively bargained, union administered plans, and other plans that cover unionized workers, to unsupportable levels, resulting in pressure to shift costs to workers, cut wages, and to agree to unacceptable high deductible plans;

WHEREAS, the federal agencies have not provided a regulatory approach that provides a positive environment for all of our plans, including multiemployer plans;

WHEREAS, this resolution is not meant to be a comprehensive list of the benefits and the problems of the ACA;

WHEREAS, because of these factors and the impact on our members, many unions have called for changes in the Affordable Care Act;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO reaffirms the health care resolutions adopted by the 2009 convention, including the commitment to pursue health care for all ultimately through a single-payer system;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the ACA should be administered in a manner that preserves the high-quality health coverage multiemployer plans have provided to union families for decades and, if this is not possible, we will demand the ACA be amended by Congress;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that non-profit multiemployer plans should have access to the ACA's premium tax credits and cost-sharing reductions on behalf of working families, just as for-profit insurance companies will;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the employer responsibility rules should be fixed by applying a full employer penalty for failing to provide affordable comprehensive coverage to workers who average 20 or more hours per week and adding an employer penalty on a pro rata basis for employees who work fewer than 20 hours per week.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the employer responsibility rules should be fixed further by extending employer responsibility requirements to more employers, especially to construction companies with five or more employees as was provided by the Merkley Amendment included in the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that employers that attempt to shirk their responsibility in its entirety by dumping low-income workers into Medicaid should be penalized;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO will strongly oppose taxing workers' health benefits;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO supports the preservation of collectively bargained plans, union administered plans, and other plans that cover unionized workers, by eliminating the ACA Excise Tax, Reinsurance Fee and all other fees;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we call on the federal agencies responsible for implementing the Act to exempt supplemental welfare benefit plans from the PCORI and reinsurance fees.

(End Resolution No. 54)

TRUMKA: Now we have more resolutions to take up from the Resolutions Committee, and I'd like to ask Harold Schaitberger to report on Resolutions 29, 34 and 42. Harold.

BECKY MOELLER, Texas AFL-CIO: Mike 2.

VICE PRESIDENT HAROLD SCHAITBERGER, International Association of Fire Fighters: Do you have a point? Maybe a point at the mike here.

TRUMKA: For what purpose does the delegate at mike 2 rise?

MOELLER: Becky Moeller rises for a point of personal privilege.

TRUMKA: State the nature of the personal privilege.

MOELLER: I'm with the Texas AFL-CIO, and I represent the Southern Region state federation officers. We would like to recognize Ken Johnson in his retirement.

TRUMKA: Granted.

MOELLER: Ken Johnson went to work for the national AFL-CIO in 1996 or '97, the exact year is unclear to me. But we know that he has spent his life working for civil rights, working for justice and dignity.

We think today he should be recognized on this floor. We've been talking about retirements, we've been talking about secure retirements, we've been talking about Social Security and Medicare and being able to live with the dignity once you do retire, and we wish Ken Johnson the most happy retirement he and his family could have.

It wasn't easy being a young black man and an activist when he was a youth and got involved. He didn't wait until he was grown and in the union movement. He started fighting early. So we know he's had a rough life fighting for all of us. It

probably wasn't easy going to work for the AFL-CIO in 1996 and '97 as well. So we just want all the delegates to wish him a very happy retirement and best wishes.

Thank you, Mr. President. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Becky, appreciate it. Kenny Johnson, a happy retirement from the entire delegation. Harold.

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Resumed)

RESOLUTION NO. 29

In Support of the American Labor Museum

SCHAITBERGER: Submitted by OPEIU, Resolution 29, "In Support of the American Labor Museum," recognizes the American Labor Museum as a national landmark. It stands as a labor museum and learning center and also for its role in educating the public and conserving collections of immigrants, workers and unions.

It calls on the AFL-CIO to encourage its affiliates to support the activities of the museum.

On behalf of the committee, I move adoption of Resolution 29.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 29 be adopted. Is there discussion? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

VICE PRESIDENT MICHAEL GOODWIN, Office and Professional Employees

International Union: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm a delegate from OPEIU. I also serve as the president of the American Labor Museum in Haledon, New Jersey. I rise in support of Resolution 29.

In 2013, this year, we are celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Paterson silk industry strike, where 25,000 workers went out on strike for a shorter workweek. And these workers were immigrants, so nothing is new. We're having the same fights today as they had 100 years ago—mainly Italian immigrants.

They were working 50 and 60 hours every week and they wanted to reduce their workweek to 40 hours.

And that strike, although they didn't actually win the strike, per se, but they are credited for the development and establishment of the 40-hour workweek in the United States, that Paterson strike.

The museum is housed in the Botto House National Landmark in Haledon, New Jersey. And you would say, "Well, why Haledon, if it was Paterson?" Because in 1913, it was illegal to assemble in the city of Paterson, New Jersey. You would have been arrested if you had a union meeting, and jailed for a substantial period of time.

There happened to be, in the neighboring town, a socialist mayor in Haledon, New Jersey, who welcomed the strikers over into that town. And there was an immigrant family from Italy, the Botto family, Maria and Pietro Botto, who said, "My house can be used as a place for the strikers to meet and to discuss issues in the strike each week."

Their house happened to be on a hill, and it had a Victorian balcony overlooking the land in front of it, which was vacant, and 20,000 people were able to assemble there each week, and all the great leaders of the day would assemble there and educate them on that.

In 1983, the American Labor Museum was established and moved into this Botto House National Landmark.

And today we teach the children, we teach the public. Because, frankly, our children don't know about the history. I go and ask kids sometimes, "Do you know who George Meany is?" "No, who is he?" Or you ask about Walter Reuther. "No, we don't know who he is either." They don't know.

What we're trying to do at the museum is to educate the children in the schools and in the public so that they do know the past. And if you know the past, you can appreciate the future. So we must educate our children about the labor struggles of the past, and we must continue to fight to train them.

We have a program called "Museum in a Suitcase," and it travels all across the country. We're also online. And we have exhibitors and unions coming in periodically. Last year we had an exhibit which was "Border Angels," honoring the immigrants who come across the border and fight for labor rights in this country. And that was done by—

TRUMKA: Brother Mike, I'm going to have to ask you to conclude. Your time has expired.

GOODWIN: Thank you, sir. It's inexpensive to join the museum, but it's extremely powerful. Call 973-595-7953. That's 973-595-7953. And I ask every international union and local union in this room to support the education of our children on labor struggles and immigrants. Thank you, sir. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thanks, Mike.

The question is on the adoption of Resolution 29. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no.
Resolution 29 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 29
In Support of the American Labor Museum

WHEREAS, The American Labor Museum/Botto House National Landmark is based in the Borough of Haledon, Passaic County, New Jersey; and

WHEREAS, Haledon served as a haven for free speech during the 1913 Paterson Silk Strike, an epic labor struggle in which over 20,000 IWW silk mill workers rallied outside of the Botto House; and

WHEREAS, The Botto House opened as The American Labor Museum in 1983

as a learning center which teaches thousands of children and adults about the contributions of workers, immigrants and organized labor every year; and

WHEREAS, The American Labor Museum offers changing and traveling exhibits, monthly cultural and annual special events, free labor arts classes, on and off-site tours (through videoconferencing), a free public library, a speakers' bureau, research assistance and more; and

WHEREAS, The year 2013 marks the 30th anniversary of the American Labor Museum and the 100th anniversary of the 1913 Paterson Silk Strike; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO recognizes that the American Labor Museum is a national landmark that stands as a Labor Museum and Learning Center; and be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO recognizes the American Labor Museum for educating the general public, preserving the historic landmark, conserving collections of immigrants, workers and unions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO encourages its affiliates to support the activities of the American Labor Museum by becoming members, borrowing traveling exhibits, scheduling classes and/or touring on site or through videoconferencing, utilizing its library of books, dissertations, films and music, inviting speakers to meetings, shopping in the Museum Store, participating and/or sponsoring fundraising events and promoting the museum's website (www.labormuseum.net) and Facebook page.
(End Resolution No. 29)

RESOLUTION NO. 34

AFL-CIO Convention Resolution on Bipartisan Political Action

SCHAITBERGER: The next resolution is Resolution 34, "AFL-CIO Convention Resolution on Bipartisan Political Action," submitted by the Building and Construction Trades Department and the IUOE, the Operating Engineers.

This resolution resolves that the AFL-CIO embrace a political action program that seeks to foster greater political independence, take practical steps to cultivate and nurture relationships with members of all parties who are willing to put partisanship politics aside and work to advance the interests of our members, encourage moderate candidates who support fairness and equity for workers in congressional districts where the political lines may be drawn to dictate that a Republican candidate has an upper hand, and view and conduct its various political activities in a pragmatic, bipartisan approach that focuses primarily on candidates' positions on issues of direct importance to workers.

I would like to add that the IAFF, my union, has been following not only such a policy but actually implementing it for a number of years. We try to follow the simple principle by saying, "If you're with us, we're with you. But if you take our money and you take our endorsement and you take our support and we provide it,

we're going to hold you accountable, regardless of what party you belong to."

I hope that we reached the point where we don't care if there's an "R" or "D" behind their names, it's just whether or not they are willing to support the agenda of the AFL-CIO.

On behalf of the Resolutions Committee, I move the adoption of Resolution 34.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 34 be adopted. Is there discussion?

Seeing none, the question is on adoption of Resolution 34. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no.
Resolution 34 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 34

AFL-CIO Convention Resolution on Bipartisan Political Action

WHEREAS, the American labor movement was built on the need to protect the common interest of workers and on the belief that workers hold more power if they work collectively and in collaboration to achieve mutually beneficial goals; and

WHEREAS, the labor movement is charged with using all of its resources to advance its members' interests in respect to job creation and the availability of sustainable wages, benefits, and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, the American labor movement has been known historically to work across party lines to ensure that the interests of its members and the American workforce at large are empowered and protected on the job; and

WHEREAS, our members benefit and the American political system is most successful when petty party politics are put aside and efforts are advanced that try to find common ground on difficult issues that strengthen the country as a whole; and

WHEREAS, both the Democratic and the Republican parties have a compelling historical commitment to advancing efforts to protect and encourage fairness and equity for workers; and

WHEREAS, America's Building Trades Unions have acknowledged this indisputable history and successfully embraced and implemented a bipartisan approach to their combined political and legislative action programs; and

WHEREAS, former AFL-CIO President George Meany stated "we have a lot to do with the Democratic Party but we don't run them, and they don't run us";

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO embrace an approach for its political action program that seeks to foster greater political independence in order to become better inoculated against sudden shifts in the political winds; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO take practical steps, at every level of government, to cultivate and nurture relationships with members of all parties who are willing to put partisan politics aside and work to advance the interests of our members; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that in congressional districts where the politically drawn lines dictate that a Republican candidate has an upper hand, that the AFL-CIO will encourage moderate candidates who support fairness and equity for workers; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that it will now be the accepted policy of the AFL-CIO to view and conduct its endorsement process, political giving, political communications, independent expenditures, SuperPAC efforts, and voter and Election Day GOTV field mobilization efforts in a pragmatic, bipartisan approach that focuses primarily on candidates' positions on issues of direct importance to workers.

(End Resolution No. 34)

RESOLUTION NO. 42

National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund Museum and Memorial

SCHAITBERGER: Submitted by IUPA, Resolution 42, the "National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund Museum and Memorial," endorses and supports the efforts of the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund to honor the law enforcement officers who have been killed in the line of duty and the museum's effort to build mutual respect and foster cooperation between the public and the law enforcement profession.

On behalf of the committee, I move the adoption of Resolution 42.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 42 be adopted. Is there any discussion?

Seeing none, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 42. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no.

Resolution 42 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 42

National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund Museum and Memorial

WHEREAS, there are more than 900,000 sworn law enforcement officers now serving in the United States; and

WHEREAS, a total of 1,539 law enforcement officers died in the line of duty over the past 10 years, an average of one death every 57 hours or 154 per year; and

WHEREAS, the Memorial honors all of America's law enforcement heroes—those that have died in the line of duty and those who continue to serve and protect; and

WHEREAS, during Police Week, NLEOMF is a principal organizer of the annual tribute to those law enforcement officers who have made the ultimate sacrifice and to increase public support for the law enforcement profession; and

WHEREAS, the Museum's mission is to tell the story of American law enforcement through exhibits, collections, research, and education; and

WHEREAS, the Museum will give visitors an opportunity to walk in an officer's shoes and experience firsthand what it is like to make life-or-death decisions, solve crimes, protect our communities, and safeguard our freedoms, be it

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO endorses and supports the efforts of the NLEOMF to honor the law enforcement officers who have been killed in the line of duty by permanently etching their names on the Memorial and the Museum's effort to build mutual respect and foster cooperation between the public and the law enforcement profession.

(End Resolution No. 42)

TRUMKA: Back to you, Harold, for an update on Resolutions 23, 31, 45, 24, 30, 32, 43, 44, 46, 48. Hike! *(Laughter)*

RESOLUTION NOS. 23, 31, 45, 24, 30, 32, 43, 44, 46, 48

SCHAITBERGER: And that by 30 minutes is how much time? *(Laughter)*

The Resolutions Committee voted to subsume Resolution 23, "Fair and Comprehensive Immigration Reform," and Resolution 31, "Resolution Supporting a Road Map to Citizenship for Aspiring Americans," into Resolution 4, "Assisting Immigrant Workers to Become Citizens and Exercise Their Workplace Rights."

The Resolutions Committee voted to subsume Resolution 45, "Social Security Fairness Act," into Resolution 11, "Retirement Security for All."

The Resolutions Committee voted to refer the following resolutions to the Executive Council:

Resolution 24, "Our Nation Needs New Priorities: Cut Military Spending to Invest in Our People and Communities."

Resolutions 30 and 32, both titled "Our Nation Needs New Priorities: Cut Pentagon Spending to Invest in Our People and Communities."

Resolution 43, "Concerns of Police Survivors."

Resolution 44, "Aurora, Colorado, Police Department."

Resolution 46, "Enforcement of Provisions of Solidarity Charters."

And Resolution 48, "Resolution for Health Care Equity for All."

There being no further action by this committee on any of these aforementioned resolutions, I would like to take just a second to thank all the members of the Resolutions Committee who worked very diligently, very hard this week, and prior to our arrival, on the 35 resolutions of the 54 resolutions that we were assigned that were heard at this convention.

We made sure that we gave everybody a fair day in court and brought the resolutions for your consideration.

So I just would like to extend my appreciation to them for a job well done.
(Applause)

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

TRUMKA: I think we can do better. The Resolutions Committee worked really hard, and so did its chairman. Let's hear it again. *(Applause)*

Thanks, Harold.

RESOLUTION NO. 51

Resolution in Support of the Release of Oscar López Rivera

TRUMKA: Now I want to ask the convention's unanimous consent to consider Resolution 51. Resolution 51 came in late, and it takes unanimous adoption for it to be considered. Are there any objections to us considering Resolution 51?

Hearing none, I'll report on the resolution.

Resolution 51, "Resolution in Support of the Release of Oscar López Rivera," submitted by the Puerto Rican Federation of Labor and OPEIU, calls on the president to pardon Oscar López Rivera, a successful community organizer in Chicago who was convicted of seditious conspiracy in 1981 and is now the longest-held political prisoner in the history of Puerto Rico.

His release has been requested by several governors of Puerto Rico, the House and the Senate of Puerto Rico, the mayor of San Juan, AFSCME, LCLAA and the Puerto Rican AFL-CIO.

We move the adoption of Resolution 51, and the committee recommends that Resolution 51 be adopted.

Is there discussion? The chair calls on the delegate at mike 1.

JOSÉ RODRIGUÉZ-BAEZ, Puerto Rico Federation of Labor: Mr. President, I'm the president of the Puerto Rico Federation of Labor and a member of International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. *(Applause)*

Beside me, Braulio Torres, international vice president of AFSCME. *(Applause)*

...Delegate Baez addressed the delegation in Spanish via an interpreter as follows:

I want to thank the Executive Council and the convention delegates for allowing consideration of Resolution Number 51 in support of the release of Oscar López Rivera.

Oscar López Rivera is a decorated Vietnam War veteran who became part of the Puerto Rican community in Chicago working as a community organizer. In 1981,

he was arrested along with 14 others. They were convicted of conspiring to commit sedition, though neither he nor his 14 colleagues were accused of causing any kind of physical harm or murder.

In 1999, President Clinton commuted the sentences of some of these prisoners, but Oscar, in solidarity with those who were not pardoned, did not accept the offer. At this time all of the prisoners have been released from prison and live productive and law-abiding lives.

Oscar is the only one who is still in prison. He is 70 years old and has spent 32 years of his life in prison. He is the longest imprisoned Puerto Rican political prisoner ever. He has been imprisoned longer than the respected South African leader, Nelson Mandela.

TRUMKA: Brother, I'm going to have to ask you to conclude. Your time has expired.

RODRIGUÉZ-BAEZ: Resolution 51 is about reclaiming human rights. This resolution is about a fundamental humanitarian issue. It seeks to allow after 32 years for Oscar to embrace his daughter and granddaughter in his community. It is time for Oscar to return to his home.

Mr. Chairman, I stand here in support of Resolution 51 and urge the president of the United States, Barack Obama, to exercise his constitutional powers to pardon and immediately release Oscar López Rivera. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

GOODWIN: Thank you Mr. Chairman. I rise in support of my brother from Puerto Rico on Resolution 51. Just wanted to point out in the resolution he was charged with seditious conspiracy and other related offenses. Well, 32 years. 32 years in prison.

They all should have been tried in Montana, because in Montana for the more serious crime of rape the judges out there give 30 days.

And so I think this is an overdue sentence that's much too long, and he should be immediately released. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

The question is on the adoption of Resolution 51. It's recommended that you vote for the resolution.

Those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no. Resolution 51 is adopted. *(Applause)*

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RESOLUTION NO. 51

Resolution in Support of the Release of Oscar López Rivera

WHEREAS, Oscar López Rivera, a decorated veteran of the Vietnam War, returned to the Puerto Rican community of Chicago to become a successful community

organizer and help improve conditions in education, housing, and employment;

WHEREAS, in May 1981, he was arrested, along with 14 other men and women, and was convicted of seditious conspiracy and related offenses, yet he nor any of his co-defendants was convicted of harming or killing anyone;

WHEREAS, in 1999, as a result of an international campaign for their release, President Clinton commuted the sentences of most of these men and women. The President offered to commute Oscar's sentence after he served another 10 years in prison. In solidarity with those not included in the commutation, Oscar declined;

WHEREAS, all those released are living productive, law-abiding lives. Oscar is the only one of his co-defendants still behind bars;

WHEREAS, at 70 years old, he is the longest-held political prisoner in the history of Puerto Rico. He has served more time than the South African leader Nelson Mandela;

WHEREAS, there have been many personalities and international organizations which have applied for his release over the past 32 years. That support includes several members of the U.S. House of Representatives, civic and religious leaders throughout the U.S.; elected officials from New York, California, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Illinois; international figures from Haiti, Mexico and Australia among others; as well as many Puerto Rican and Latino communities throughout the United States;

WHEREAS, in Puerto Rico, several former governors, to include Rafael Hernández Colón, Sila María Calderón, Anibal Acevedo Vilá, and the current governor Alejandro García Padilla, have all requested in writing the immediate release of Oscar López Rivera. Both the current Puerto Rico Resident Commissioner to the U.S. Congress, Pedro Pierluissi, and the Mayor of San Juan, Carmen Yulín Cruz, have taken similar positions; and the Puerto Rico Senate and House of Representatives have also weighed in on the issue by passing resolutions in their respective bodies in favor of Oscar López Rivera's release;

WHEREAS, the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization has adopted resolutions annually, as recently as 2011, calling on the President of the United States to release Oscar López Rivera;

WHEREAS, AFSCME, LCLAA, and the Puerto Rico AFL-CIO have all passed similar resolutions in their respective conventions;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, the 2013 AFL-CIO Convention calls on the President of the United States to exercise his Constitutional power of pardon, and to grant the immediate and unconditional release of Oscar López Rivera.

(End Resolution No. 51)

TRUMKA: Now in the past few days I've said that we need to turn America right side up; that we have the power to do it. And how do we know there's a better way? Well, we can point to our own history and we can look to what workers in other countries have done. In that spirit, we're now going to hear by video from one of the world's great living heroes, former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva of Brazil. President Lula, an auto worker, a union leader, a political prisoner, two-time president of Brazil, a man whose democratic workers government helped raise 30 million people out of poverty. That's like raising every man, woman and child in the state of California out of poverty.

Let's see the video.

...Former President of Brazil Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva addressed the delegation via video in Spanish. (Applause)

TRUMKA: I might just note this, that while the rest of the country—or the world, rather—was going in recession and believing that austerity and cut was the way out, President Lula didn't do that. He invested in Brazil, never went into recession where the rest of the world did. There is a better way. *(Applause)*

SPEAK OUT

Where We Go From Here

TRUMKA: Now, brothers and sisters, it's been a long week. And I'd be tired if I weren't so excited about what we've done together and what comes next.

Look at what we've done. We've committed to building a broader and more open movement, we declared that we won't let any boss or governor tell a worker that he or she can't be part of the labor movement. That's every worker's choice and no one else's.

We laid the groundwork for new large-scale and strategic organizing and for labor law reform that will take the intimidation, harassment and firings out of the process of gaining a voice on the job.

We committed to being a different, more engaged community partner and increasing the effectiveness and accountability of our state and local movements while promising that our unions will also be more accountable.

We strengthened our agenda for shared prosperity, resolving to work together to raise wages, improve work standards and build economic security.

We made it clear that we are the movement for all workers, giving young workers a seat at the leadership table, engaging and supporting women workers, workers of color and LGBTQ workers.

We reached across oceans, linking arms with our brothers and sisters on every continent. We elected officers. And I can't tell you that any of us are perfect leaders, but I can promise that we live and we breathe for this movement and for the working people of America.

Most important, we reaffirmed the values that unite us. The values of justice and fairness and democracy, the values of activism and collective action to improve life for all.

We recognized that whatever else we do, we will not succeed until we raise the value this nation and our world place on work—the work that we do, and the people who do it.

Now, as you've heard me say on Monday, our actions here mean nothing until we put them to work. And it's going to take action, action to build a stronger, broader movement of the working people who build America.

So we came together in action sessions and strategized to begin planning our next steps. Our action sessions generated some great new ideas on topics from alternative models of membership, to lessons from the state battles, from art and activism, to Common Sense Economics.

That's what we want to talk about this afternoon. How do we put all of this to work on the ground? What are some of the best and most innovative ideas for action and implementation from the action sessions? What ideas can we share with each other as we move forward?

So now we want to spend some time hearing from each one of you. And for this session the chair rules that delegates and non-delegates are allowed to speak. I want to keep it pretty informal but would like to hear your thinking about what you've learned in the plenaries and action sessions, what you're doing in your unions and communities to take on these fights, and what do you plan to do when you go back home. How are you going to do your work differently?

So, the three of us want to listen. We'd like to hear your ideas about plans for strengthening our democracy and building a diverse and inclusive movement. We would like to hear your thinking about campaigns and actions to build grassroots power and community partnerships to create good jobs and stronger communities.

And we want to hear your ideas and plans for what you're going to do, together with our allies, to raise wages and improve living standards.

Let's spend about a half an hour or so hearing some ideas, and to give time for as many people as possible to be heard. We want to ask you to keep your remarks to about two minutes. And remember, we want to keep the focus tightly on our next steps.

Liz, why don't you take over.

SECRETARY-TREASURER ELIZABETH H. SHULER: OK. So this is where we make the paper come alive, right? We want to leave here with some high-energy ideas. I've got 10 minutes, and I wanted to throw out a couple of questions to just get the conversation started.

I guess the first one would be how do we open up our movement and grow? We want to grow, right? So how do we do that? If there are some best practices or practical solutions that maybe folks could come to the mike to talk about. And we would love to hear from you on that.

Also, what can we commit to here leaving the hall, to make sure that every vote counts and that our democracy is strong moving forward.

So I'll just throw those couple things out, and I see some folks at the mikes. I see a light at mike 1. Go ahead, mike 1.

DAVID BARNETT, Plumbers and Pipe Fitters: Good afternoon, Brother Trumka and brothers and sisters. I am a proud 37-year and third-generation member of the United Association of Plumbers and Pipe Fitters and a special representative for the Pipeline and Gas Distribution Department. Thank you for the opportunity to address the convention.

I was asked to partake in the Infrastructure Jobs Reducing Emissions action session. Given the fact that our nation's aging distribution systems have been given a Grade D by the National Engineering Federation, and given the fact that the National Transportation Safety Board has issued repeated warnings dating back to 1973 of the dangers of cast iron piping in our distribution systems, and given the fact that Americans every year are injured or killed by these leaking systems, and given the fact that right here in Los Angeles it is estimated that as much as 12% of the natural gas system is leaking into the atmosphere, and given the fact that methane being leaked is more than 20 times more dangerous to our atmosphere than carbon dioxide, a partnership has been formed to push for accelerated replacement of these outdated distribution pipelines throughout the U.S.

It is viewed by some as being an unusual partnership, consisting of the members of the Blue/Green Alliance, AFL-CIO international union representatives and environmental groups. We will be coming to your communities in the near future to educate communities of these dangers, and pull together and push these utility providers and various utility commissioners to begin to accelerate the replacement of these outdated and dangerous distribution systems, and produce thousands of jobs for our members both in the construction and American manufacturing sectors of our union.

Recap, rebuilding our cities' aging pipelines is the brand name to look for. I have—

SHULER: Brother, I hate to cut you off, but we're down to two minutes per speaker and you're running out of time quickly. So please wrap it up, thanks.

BARNETT: All right. We had a \$100,000 contribution from my home local, Local 798, to kick this off and get it started. My general president matched that contribution. We're going to hope that this grows. The distribution system has been put off too long and there's a lot of jobs involved. Thank you.

SHULER: Great. Thank you, Brother. Thank you. I see someone standing at mike 3, and then we'll go to mike 2.

JOSHUA COLEMAN, TU-CWA: I'm from Wichita, Kansas. I'm a member of the TU-CWA organization. I'm part of the global campaign against the telecom giant T-Mobile Deutsch Telecom. My co-workers and I are part of a movement of young people in call centers and retail stores all over the United States to build democracy at work and in our country.

Now before organizing in TU-CWA, I felt like just one of about 20,000 workers at the mercy of T-Mobile. But from organizing, I learned about the over 100,000 colleagues that are already organized into a democratic union, ver.di, in Germany.

Together, we are building grassroots partnerships to take action at our workplaces in the U.S. and in Germany, and that's internationally.

Domestically, we're forging alliances in our communities to build support for each other's worth. For example, in Wichita, Kansas, where I live, we formed a partnership with Sunflower Community Action, a member of the National People's Association, to train potential T-Mobile employees on workers' rights. We're mobilizing, also, around their actions as well.

In July, a van of about 11 of us drove up to Des Moines, Iowa, six hours each way, where President Larry Cohen spoke at their organization. However, in May, from my organizing efforts, I was fired unjustly by T-Mobile. But I'm not defeated. I'm not a fired worker, I'm an organizer. *(Applause)*

Together, T-Mobile workers in the United States and in Germany will fight on for as long as it takes to make T-Mobile respect our rights. Thanks.

SHULER: So grassroots global partnerships. We hear you loud and clear. Mike No. 2.

I see a lot of people at the mikes, by the way, so if you could keep it real tight. Thank you.

JANELLE CRANCH, California School Employees Association: President of 517, CSEA member.

I come before you because I want to draw attention to the fact that we do, in fact, need to draw on our Republican brothers and sisters.

Without being lynched, I am a registered Republican, and I am here to prove to all of you the passion that I feel. In fact, our newly elected officer, Tefere Gebre, I serve on his Orange County Labor Federation, and he knows the passion with which I have served our constituents in that capacity.

The composition of CSEA members is approximately 43% Democrats and 38% Republicans. The time has come that we have to embrace people across the aisle to support issues that are beneficial to all of us.

I was at an event where Speaker Perez took the mike and said, "You better listen to this lady because to pass legislation that benefits all of us, we have to reach out to our Republican brothers and sisters."

So, please, folks, bear that in mind when you have issues that you are trying to move forward. Thank you.

SHULER: Thank you, Sister. Reaching out across the aisle. OK. Let's go back over to mike No. 1.

ANDY MADTES, South Florida AFL-CIO: Thank you very much. I'm the president of the Miami central labor council. I'd just like to reinforce one of the resolutions that was passed here this week as it relates to organizing in the South, and more attention to organizing in the South.

We have tremendous opportunities in South Florida as I stand here today. We have multibillion-dollar construction projects that are happening with hotel components in an opportunity to bring the building trades together, the hotel

workers together, and a number of other unions together.

Right now, currently, there's going to be a billion-dollar project on a convention center in Miami in which every union in the building trades, including UNITE HERE, has come together to support this project.

So I just stand here today to reinforce that the organizing in the South is important, it can happen, and it can bring solidarity to all of us. Thank you.

SHULER: Thank you, Brother. Solidarity in the South. I love it. All right. Let's go back over to mike 3.

LAUREL BRENNAN, New Jersey State AFL-CIO: Good afternoon. I am the secretary-treasurer of the New Jersey State AFL-CIO, and I am proud to be at this convention. I'm also understanding of the very hard work and the planning and the executing of this convention, and I appreciate it, Secretary Shuler.

However, we all know that the hard work begins when we get home. In New Jersey, we have an election every single year. In New Jersey, we are fortunate to have some wonderful central labor councils, building trades councils and affiliates that work closely with us at the state federation.

We have a WILD women's program which trains women in the labor movement to be leaders and activists, and they are working with us on the war against women to raise the minimum wage in New Jersey, which is on the ballot this November. We want this to become a national issue. We want everyone in this room to go to our website, Working Families United for New Jersey, and make this an issue so we can stop the war, not only on women, but on working families.

We are working with our community partners, our women's organizations, and the entire labor movement to make sure that we raise the wage in New Jersey and elect 72 union members to political office. We believe in the diverse labor movement and a strong empowered working community.

So I thank you for your support. I thank all the delegates here to make sure that we raise the wage. Thank you.

SHULER: Thank you, Sister Laurel. It's WILD, right, Women In Leadership Development.

BRENNAN: Women In Leadership Development, thank you.

SHULER: Thanks for bringing that forward. I see a young worker at mike 2, and that's going to wrap up my section, but stay in line because we're going to keep going. Go ahead, Sister.

SARA WALLING, Sacramento (Calif.) Central Labor Council: I'm the mobilization director from the Sacramento CLC. I am a member of OPEIU Local 29, and I'm the founder of our Young Worker program at the Sacramento Labor Council. *(Applause)*

Real quickly, I just wanted to talk about a few things that we've gone over this conference a lot, including diversity and inclusion. We ask, "Why young workers?"

Why is it important for young workers to get involved? Why is it important to do outreach?"

For me the reason why we started this was because I didn't see any young workers at the table. There was nobody there my same age really talking about these issues and really addressing and getting involved in the labor movement. This was a problem. We're in danger of losing an entire generation of labor warriors if we don't involve young people.

So I wanted to say thank you for taking the beginning steps with Resolution 19. So thank you to our executive officers and our delegates' commitment to our young workers.

But after we leave here, it cannot be business as usual. It can't. We have to have these important takeaways to where we have to ask young workers to get involved. We have to organize them, right?

We have to first ask them about coming to union meetings or asking about their union, and we also have to include them at the table. We have to engage them in a dialogue with us, with seasoned workers and young workers, so that way we can begin to sit down and have the space to talk about these issues.

SHULER: Thank you, Sister. If you could just wrap it up, we're going to move on to the next one.

WALLING: Yeah. So basically don't end the conversation, keep it going. That's my challenge to you is for when you go back at the grassroots level for the state federation, local CLCs and your individual unions, keep it going and act on it.

SHULER: I hope everyone is listening. That's what we're going to do when we leave here, right? Thank you. Now, I'd like to turn it over to Tefere.

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT TEFERE GEBRE: Thank you, Liz. So I'm the new guy here. *(Applause)* That's what I was looking for.

You know, I am feeling like we're going to go out and put America on fire and double our membership. Everywhere I went, into every session, that's what you told us, that's what you said. Right? At the Diversity Conference, we got into an exercise and everybody said, "Next time we meet, we are going to see our membership going up." But that's going to require real work. So we know we can't accomplish that on our own. We can't do it alone.

So I'm going to ask you what you are going to do when you go back home to start building a labor movement that fights for all and starts building a movement which is creating an enduring and lasting relationship with our partners, as we have talked about.

So I hope you don't read from written script, let it come from your heart, and I'm going to start from mike 3, and I'm going to go. Brother.

BERNIE EVERS, Ironworkers: I'm the chief of staff, assistant to the general president of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers.

Under the direction of my general president, Walt Wise, we're about to establish an associate member program. President Wise had instructed me to introduce a concept at our General Executive Council meeting in the spring of 2012.

We talked about the needs of upcoming work and the working requirements that are going to be needed throughout the Gulf Coast and the manpower that's going to be needed. The demand for increased work is going to have some type of mechanism in place where we're going to bring workers into our union, give them training and have a list of how we can use these workers.

Our associate membership program is going to be a win-win for the local unions and for the workers. First of all, it's going to establish a political goal that we're going to have to instruct the workers and educate the workers on the laws that are out there to protect them.

We're going to hear both the industry needs and what is happening in the nonunion industry where workers are being cheated out of wages and drinking water on the job. We'll be able to work with church groups and civic groups to expose these contractors and establish a level playing field.

The workers are going to be brought into the union through the associate membership program.

We are also going to have campaign organizing activities. Picture if we have 40 workers working for a contractor and all 40 are associate members. Or picture 5,000 iron workers working in a given area and 4,000 of them are associate members. That creates a great incentive to have an industrywide campaign. The goal here is to have associate members become full union members.

In closing, I'd like to close with a statement from my general president. He once said to me, "If there are workers employed as iron workers, they should have the opportunity to be full members in our union. No matter where they come from, no matter what language they speak, all iron workers deserve the protections and benefits our unions offer." Thank you. *(Applause)*

GEBRE: Thank you, Brother. So, an associate membership that's diverse and that's coming from all the communities. Thank you. Mike No. 2, Brother.

GARY ALLEN, International Association of Machinists: I'm a 34-year proud member of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. *(Applause)*

I have responsibility as a general vice president of the Machinists union for the 13 western states of our great union.

My friends, I rise in the spirit of civil discourse, and some of you here today may take this as negativity, and it's not.

I rise to talk about a cancer that's rotting the foundation of the House of Labor. Brothers and sisters, there's a war raging right here in the Los Angeles Basin. The Teamsters union has decided that the IAM is open season. Every other week, every other week they come to my plants and they handbill them.

We had three proposals, three amendments that were referred to the Executive Council. And, brothers and sisters, on that Executive Council I asked that you take action. We cannot have this sort of poisonous conduct taking place in the halls

of labor. If we do not demand a minimum code of conduct in the House of Labor, we can't have a civilized labor movement and we'll descend into anarchy. And I beseech that Executive Council to pull the solidarity charters of the IBT. Thank you.
(Applause)

GEBRE: Delegate on mike No. 1.

STEVE ZELTZER, Communications Workers of America: I'm a member of the Pacific CWA, Pacific Media Workers, representing newspaper and communication workers, and I'm reporting from KPFA Radio.

Now, we saw a video earlier about Brazil and former President Lula on the fight that they've made to raise the wages and working conditions of the workers of Brazil.

But one of the lessons I think we have to take from that is in Brazil they have a workers' party. They have a mass labor party that brought that forward. And also they have a labor media with labor voices. And one of the things our local is supporting and fighting for when I go back is a national labor channel. We need a national labor channel for all working people in this country so we can get our side of the story out, and that is a major problem, as all of you know, getting our stories out so working people can hear the real story about unions in this country and what we're fighting for.

The other issue is what's happening in the Bay area right now at BART. The BART workers, AFSCME, SEIU, ATU, face a union-busting attack on them in which the managers, the board of directors—which our labor union supported—are saying that they have to take wage cuts to pay for new train cars, which are probably going to be made in Canada, not even in this country.

So why is it that transport workers have to take pay cuts to pay for new rail cars in this country? They're the ones that make this country run and make the railways run.

At the same time, tens of thousands of workers in northern California are without contracts, the employers are hard lining all workers and saying, "We want concessions. We want wage concessions. We want health care concessions."

And I think it's time that our unions start to get together, all unions in the AFL-CIO and outside the AFL-CIO. And if we don't have a contract, we unite with all workers and go out together. We need mass workers' action in this country to show that it's not this union or that union, it's all of us that are facing an attack.

That could turn it around and that could raise the issue that this is an attack on the entire working class on our basic human and worker rights, and I think we have to organize for that action.

GEBRE: Thank you, Brother. Thank you for your ideas, and now I'm going to turn it over to Rich.

TRUMKA: All right. So we need to turn America right side up, we need to raise wages, we need to create good jobs and decent benefits and economic opportunity, and we need to do this for all workers.

Now, a lot of this work is already started: local campaigns to raise the minimum wage and required paid sick leave for workers, new approaches to organizing workers and global campaigns.

Now I want to hear some of your ideas, your plans, what you're going to do going forward to take the challenge to raise wages and improve living standards for all workers. I'll start with mike 3 this time.

ANDREA WASSNER, Boise (Idaho) Central Trades and Labor Council: I'm a proud member of AFGE, Local 3937, representing Social Security employees in the four northwest states; board member of the Idaho State AFL-CIO; and the only active AFGE member in the entire state of Idaho. So I hope to bring you all inspiration today.

There always is a fight on privatizing Social Security. AFGE asked us to go out and do informational pickets, leafleting, picketing Charles Schwab, et cetera. It isn't going to look real good if I'm out there by myself.

Number one phone call was to my union brothers and sisters. So there's five or six. The rest of them are either traveling or working.

So we got ahold of what's called the United Vision for Idaho. It's an umbrella group that represents working people, social workers, students, environmental groups and interfaith organizations.

They got me 50 to 60 people to march in downtown Boise in order to protest Charles Schwab. We're not Seattle; there's not a picket on every corner. We're Boise, Idaho. Believe me, people stopped, people honked, people waved. We got our message out.

So I'm asking you folks that are in states like mine with very low union density, you can get the word out with help. I would urge you to go home, put the first thing on your list and reach out to those like-minded organizations. Thank you and enjoy the rest of your convention.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Delegate at mike 2.

LARRY GRIFFIN, IFPTE: Good morning, Brother Trumka, members, fellow delegates and alternates and guests. I'm a member of IFPTE Local 21, I'm a vice president from San Francisco. I'd like to speak about young workers. I know I'm not a young worker anymore, but I've been advocating for young workers for a long time.

One of the things I'd like to see labor do—and it would start at the county level, the state fed level and then the national level—and that would be to start setting up speaker bureaus, going into schools at the elementary level, at the high school level and at the college level to start recruiting and organizing these workers while they're youth. Let them know that people are airline pilots that are in unions, people are doctors that are in unions, people are construction workers that are in unions, people are professionals that are in unions. So I'd like to see us all take that on at the national level, state level and local level.

And I've always been committed to young people. Like Brother Gebre, I'm also a former president of the California Young Democrats. So thank you very much.
(Applause)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Delegate at mike 1.

VICE PRESIDENT D. MICHAEL LANGFORD, Utility Workers Union of America:
Thank you, President Trumka.

TRUMKA: Another seasoned worker.

LANGFORD: Yes, a very seasoned worker. As a matter of fact, a proud member of the Utility Workers union for 36 years.

But I'm here to talk a little bit to expand on what Brother Barnett spoke about earlier, about gas line infrastructure. And I know that may not sound sexy and fun, but brothers and sisters, we have wooden gas pipes in the ground today. Can you imagine that?

San Bruno, California, a couple years ago, a gas line explosion that literally leveled a subdivision and killed about 12 to 13 people. The city of Philadelphia, one of our members while in action died during an explosion, along with others hurt.

So you can see the significance and the importance that we get funding and replace these aging pipelines, which were put in around the 19th century. It's the same in gas, water, electric. But there's something we can do about this. We need to hold these utilities accountable, and we have done that in states.

The state of Illinois, we passed legislation to fund pipeline replacement. We have literally put it in in the last year and a half, hundreds of veterans that's come back from Iraq and Iran to work in good union-paying jobs, replacing gas lines in the city of Chicago.

So you can see there's a lot of good stuff that we can do. But we've got to get our communities engaged with this, because you're lying on top of these time bombs. And this system is leaking methane into the air that equates to about 120 million automobiles. Could you imagine how much we can save in energy alone? And these utility companies, when they have a major leak, they vent the gas rather than fixing the pipe. So there's things that we can do. We're doing it. We'd like to get you all engaged in it.

In the city of Los Angeles, New York, Boston, every major city and community in this country who has natural gas, we need to take on that challenge, and I think we're all up for it. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Mike. Delegate at mike 3.

JORGE RAMIREZ, Chicago (Ill.) Federation of Labor and Industrial Union Council:
I'm a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1546 in Chicago and president of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Mr. President, this convention has set our sights on what we need to do to create jobs and move the labor movement forward. We are inspired and we are motivated to take the energy from this convention back home with us to Chicago, where organized labor is working diligently on a number of initiatives to build a stronger movement for working people, including creating a manufacturing renaissance to

preserve and attract high-skilled manufacturing jobs.

These jobs provide high-road employment opportunities that can strengthen our economy, rebuild communities in need and grow our middle class. And, by and large, these jobs have not been off-shored and remain in our communities.

But the time is running out on an aging workforce, inadequate infrastructure and partnerships needed to support this vital industry. As we discussed in our action session this week, we are working to create an environment where young workers receive the training they need, where businesses have room to innovate and grow, and our communities are actively engaged in the process.

What we've all learned is that it can't just be the labor movement on our own. That is why we are working with our allies from community organizations, religious and faith-based groups, and progressive organizations who share our values and our goals. Manufacturing and dozens of other initiatives are critical to our future.

In Chicago, we are committed to implementing the agenda set forth by the leadership of AFL-CIO and doing our part to foster the growth of our local and national labor movement. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. As much as I hate to say it, mike 2, you're going to be the last speaker on this one.

SERGIO RASCON, LIUNA: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm the LIUNA vice president and proud member of Laborers Local 300 here in LA.

I stand here today with LIUNA's commitment to comprehensive immigration reform that creates a road map to the citizenship, protects family unity, and treats American and immigrant workers fairly.

The Senate passed a long-overdue comprehensive immigration reform bill, and LIUNA commends them for doing so. But the House is a different story, where Republicans say it's not the time to deal with immigration reform. We ask, "Why not is the time?" Immigration reform is too important for the future of this country to be derailed. The time for delay is over. It's time to force the House to act. And if they don't act, we will act in 2014 and 2016. LIUNA stands with our sisters and brothers in the labor movement and our community partners where we will be in the streets, in the halls of Congress, demanding that the time for action is now.

Join LIUNA members and tell the workers to mobilize for a day for dignity actions to be held in 60 cities across the U.S. in early October. And we will be in Washington, D.C., on October the 8th with the thousands that will march and dance to the music of *Los Tigres del Norte*, demanding the Republican leadership pass the immigration reform.

For those of you that don't know who *Los Tigres del Norte* are, those are the Tigers of the North, which play Mexican country music. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: All right. I got to tell you, great ideas and I'm glad to hear them.

This is just the beginning of a continuing conversation. As we've said all along, the convention didn't begin on Sunday and it certainly doesn't end today. This is really the starting point for a new wave of hard, hard work. It's our actions coming

out of Los Angeles that will make real change.

Now, one of the greatest challenges we face—and that all working families face—is how to turn around an economy that has failed us; how to turn that economy right side up so that we can have shared prosperity for every worker, here in the United States and also around the world.

Sisters and brothers, we can't do that unless we address stagnant and falling wages and begin to lift living standards.

And one of the main ways that we plan our next steps for this work is through the state federation/central labor council strategic planning process over the next six months, starting with regional planning meetings of key regional affiliate leaders, state federation and CLC leaders in November and December.

And we'll look at all our work through the lens of the Common Sense Economics efforts that we talked about this morning. It's a very, very powerful tool.

And we will plan every step together with our allies in states and communities throughout the country—where we have some of our best chances of making real progress. We will join our community partners to campaign for living wage ordinances, paid sick days initiatives, PLAs and community wage standards, immigration reform work and much, much more.

So let me ask you, as we prepare to leave this convention:

Will you stand together for fair pay and decent living standards for all? Will you?

(Shouts of "Yes!")

Will you stand together to insist that Walmart—and Cablevision—and all employers, value our work and respect our rights?

(Shouts of "Yes!")

Will you stand together to demand that companies in our country honor the promises that are made to our retirees?

(Shouts of "Yes!")

Will you stand together for the dreams of young workers in our future?

(Shouts of "Yes!")

Will you stand together for all workers—the people who wake America up and put her to sleep every night?

(Shouts of "Yes!")

Brothers and sisters, I know you will. As we leave here this week, we have a lot to do and I know that we can do it together.

Before we go, I want you to know this—no, I'm not going to do the announcement of the winners from today's auction. You are. You are.

I was really on a roll, too. I hope the winners are happy. I hope you are. *(Laughter)*

Give them to them.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SHULER: Once again I get to be the buzz kill, as I said. We have one announcement, the winners from today's action sessions. We've got everybody standing on their feet and here we are.

John Stevens, Elise Foster, Cesar Dominguez and Rachel Brian. Congratulations.

And there are some Monday and Tuesday winners who have not yet claimed their prizes: Pat Costello, Sylvia Ramos, Christine Peter and David Trujillo. Also Bernard Lunzer. I'm not pronouncing that right.

Please pick up your prizes from the visual artist in the exhibit plaza.

Are you going to recognize the working men and women?

TRUMKA: Yes, I am. I'm going to come back and do that.

Now it's my turn again. Before we leave, really, I want to recognize and I want to thank the working men and women who made this convention possible.

First, I want to thank the amazing staff of the AFL-CIO, who put their hearts and souls in every waking hour, and some sleeping hours, into everything it took to make this convention work. (*Applause*)

There they come up. I want to especially thank John Welsh and Julie Greene, who did an amazing job of managing every aspect of our convention.

Stand up, Julie. Stand up.

SHULER: John's in the back.

TRUMKA: John's in the back. I wanted to thank Kelly Press for the production. They did a great, great, job.

SHULER: We want to thank the great volunteers who have helped us out so much: Orange County Central Labor Council; of course, L.A. County Federation of Labor; UNITE HERE Local 11; IBEW Local 11; the CLEAN Carwash Campaign; the Miguel Contreras Foundation; and other partners and organizations. (*Applause*)

Also, at the JW Marriott we owe thanks to members of UNITE HERE Local 11. At the Westin Bonaventure, please, be sure to thank members of UNITE HERE Local 11, International Union of Operating Engineers Local 501, and Painters and Allied Trades District Council Number 36. The Greyhound workers getting us around all week have been members of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1700.

Let's hear it for all of them. (*Cheers and applause*)

GEBRE: Here at the convention, the L.A. Convention Center, feeding us and making sure that our needs are at our fingertips. We want to thank AFSCME 3090, the Engineers and Architects Association, the International Union of Operating Engineers Local 541, Los Angeles Professional Management Association, the Los Angeles Orange County Building Trades Association, SEIU Local 347 and the Laborers Local 777. Thank you so much.

SHULER: Of course, the men and women responsible for making everything in the convention hall work like butter, the members of IATSE. There's four locals, 720, 33, 22, and 2. Thank you.

Thank you to Teamsters Local 986, Decorators Local 831, OPEIU Local 2, Painters Local 1036, and from my union, IBEW Local 11. Thank you.

TRUMKA: First of all, thank you all. Let's show all the people we just mentioned how much we really appreciate them. Give them a round of applause. (*Standing ovation*)

I want to thank all of you. I want to thank the delegates and our community partners for your engagement, for your attention, for your participation, for your ideas throughout these past several days. You, after all, are the convention. I've got to tell you, God, I love this labor movement. I love every one of you.

The 2013 AFL-CIO Convention is now adjourned. Travel safely, everyone.

(At 4:04 p.m., Wednesday, September 11, 2013, the 27th Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations was adjourned sine die.)

CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS



Convention resolutions and constitutional amendments are printed in the text of the *Convention Proceedings* at the time adopted. The following provides the page for each of them by resolution or amendment number; the index provides the page by resolution or amendment title. All other resolutions and constitutional amendments submitted to the convention appear in the appendix in numerical order, beginning on page A3.

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APPENDIX OF OTHER RESOLUTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS



Resolutions and constitutional amendments passed by the convention appear in the text of the proceedings at the time adopted. On the following pages are all other resolutions and constitutional amendments submitted to the 2013 AFL-CIO Constitutional Convention.

RESOLUTION NO. 21

Resolution in Support of Labor Rights in Iraq

WHEREAS, Hassan Juma'a Awad, President of the Federation of Oil Unions in Iraq, has been criminally charged by the Ministry of Oil for allegedly organizing strikes at the South Oil Company; and

WHEREAS, strikes in this sector have taken place with increasingly regularity as workers in the oil industry seek to protect their rights and interests, improve their working conditions, and seek redress for their grievances; and

WHEREAS, if convicted, Hassan Juma'a Awad could face stiff fines or even 3 years of imprisonment, and the Federation of Oil Unions could be severely crippled—all part of an effort by the al-Maliki government to remove a huge obstacle and source of resistance to privatization of Iraq's oil resources; and

WHEREAS, the attacks on Hassan Juma'a Awad and the Federation of Oil Unions—which are attacks on freedom of association and the right to organize and bargain collectively—reflect the government of Iraq's intention to hold onto repressive laws and policies issued by the Saddam Hussein regime, namely, Decree 150 of 1987 and Labor Law No. 71, both of which are in contradiction with ILO conventions and international labor standards, including conventions to which Iraq is signatory; and

WHEREAS, U.S. Labor Against the War (with which CWA is affiliated), the AFL-CIO Solidarity Center and the Iraq Civil Society Solidarity Initiative have spearheaded an international campaign to protest the ongoing violation and denial of worker rights in Iraq, the harassment and persecution of labor activists, interference in the internal affairs of unions, and now an effort to criminalize union activity and prosecute Hassan Juma'a Awad and other union leaders; and

WHEREAS, these actions on the part of the al-Maliki regime are part of a larger pattern of increasingly authoritarian, sectarian and anti-democratic actions and policies that threaten not only the labor movement but all independent civil society organizations that seek to build a peaceful, tolerant, democratic society;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the South Carolina AFL-CIO joins USLAW, Solidarity Center, the Iraq Civil Society Solidarity Initiative and unions the world over to demand that the government of Iraq immediately drop all charges against Hassan Juma'a Awad and cancel the punitive orders issued by the Ministry of Oil to union activists, including all retaliatory transfers, reprimands and disciplinary penalties against union activists; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the South Carolina AFL-CIO calls upon the Iraqi government to abide by internationally recognized labor standards, including the right of free association to organize, collectively bargain and strike as reflected in International Labor Organization Conventions and Iraq's own Constitution, and further calls upon the Iraqi government to expeditiously adopt a basic labor law that affirms those rights for all workers, both public and private sector; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED that the South Carolina AFL-CIO will inform its members about the threat to labor rights in Iraq and encourage them to participate in appropriate solidarity activities in support of the unions and workers of Iraq, and will submit this resolution to the AFL-CIO with a request that it be adopted at the forthcoming Quadrennial Convention of the Federation.

(End Resolution No. 21)

RESOLUTION NO. 22

The Face of America's Workforce

WHEREAS, in the early 1990's, the late Mary Messenger, a proud member of AFT-WV and a delegate to the North Central WV Labor Council, advocated that the woman's hand needed to be included on the West Virginia AFL-CIO logo. In 1997, then West Virginia AFL-CIO President Joe Powell followed through on Mary's recommendation and decided to add the woman's hand to the West Virginia AFL-CIO logo, and

WHEREAS, Mary Messenger's vision to show the diversity of West Virginia's membership had finally become a reality and the new West Virginia AFL-CIO logo became the legacy of President Powell, and

WHEREAS, working women now make up almost half of the total workforce in the United States. Their impact on the economy is enormous and their contribution to their family's economic well-being is more important today than ever before, and

WHEREAS, at the 2005 AFL-CIO Convention, delegates unanimously passed Resolution 2, "A Diverse Movement Calls for Diverse Leadership." The resolution was a bold call for diversity and full inclusion of women and people of color at every level of leadership and in every program of our union movement, and

WHEREAS, after passage of Resolution 2, extensive progress was made in diversifying leadership within the labor movement. Changes were made to the

AFL-CIO's governance structure, specifically the Executive Committee, the Executive Council and the General Board. The federation also created additional paths to leadership through the Leadership Development Institute for central labor councils and state federations. As a result, reports show that participation of women and people of color increased nearly 100 percent. Many national and international unions expanded their national boards to create more opportunities to diversify. Additionally, unions have started women's and other minority caucuses, sponsored diversity workshops and made extra efforts to increase diversity opportunities, and

WHEREAS, during the 2009 Convention, the AFL-CIO became a true model for all labor organizations relating to the inclusion of women and people of color with the election of AFL-CIO President, Rich Trumka, Executive Vice President, Arlene Holt Baker and Secretary-Treasurer Liz Schuler. This historic election marked the first time that two of the three AFL-CIO officers were women. Notably, Liz Schuler became the highest-ranking woman in our labor federation's history and the youngest person to hold the position of Secretary-Treasurer.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the labor movement remain proactive on inclusion and diversity and continue to build on Resolution 2, and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO add the woman's hand to the AFL-CIO logo to show diversity and reflect the faces of America's workforce.

(End Resolution No. 22)

RESOLUTION NO. 23

Fair and Comprehensive Immigration Reform

WHEREAS, there are 11 million undocumented immigrants contributing to the American economy and community that are being denied basic rights and protections;

WHEREAS, the County of Alameda is home to approximately 500,000 immigrants with 124,000 undocumented and historically has Sanctuary Cities (Berkeley, Oakland) for all immigrants regardless of legal status;

WHEREAS, anti-immigrant programs such as Secure Communities (S-COMM) resulted in the deportations of over 90,000 Californians to date and continues to incite fear and terror in immigrant communities threatening public safety for us all;

WHEREAS, the rate of deportations is at a record high with 34,000 individuals being deported daily tragically separating thousands of families;

WHEREAS, family unity has been threatened by a broken immigration system that imposes unnecessary wait times for sponsorships leaving millions awaiting reunification for decades;

WHEREAS, immigration reform must create a fair process respecting human dignity and family unity, including protection for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, and queer (LGBTIQ) families;

WHEREAS, working people are strongest when working together and the labor movement is strongest when it is open to all workers, regardless of where they come from;

WHEREAS, we as a labor movement have previously called for inclusive reform of our immigration laws, and adopted a position that demands a pathway to citizenship for all undocumented workers, the strengthening of family reunification as the basis of immigration policy, protection of the right to organize for all workers, the repeal of employer sanctions, and opposition to guest worker programs; and

WHEREAS, the AFL-CIO is committed to working together on the side of justice for all, along with community partners, including civil rights, human rights and immigrant rights organizations, to pass immigration reform that encompasses the principles of this resolution and that strengthens our democracy;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the AFL-CIO calls on Congress to create a fair, humane roadmap to citizenship for 11 million undocumented immigrants that is broad and inclusive and not contingent upon border security measures or going to the “back of the line” of prospective immigrants;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the AFL-CIO supports family reunification by increasing legal avenues for loved ones to reunite with each other and by reducing unreasonable wait times that keep families separated;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the AFL-CIO calls on Congress to ensure due process and protections at every level of immigration and to reinstate judicial review;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the AFL-CIO calls for the end of enforcement programs such as Secure Communities, racial and ethnic profiling, and the excessive use of detention, including mandatory and prolonged detention;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO supports a reform on border enforcement by establishing safe and efficient ports of entry that promote public safety and uphold civil and human rights;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO calls upon Congress to provide immigrants with equal access to healthcare and other public benefits;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO rejects the use of electronic employment verification systems, such as E-verify which builds upon the flawed

employer sanctions framework and pushes workers into an underground economy where workplace abuses are prevalent;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO calls on Congress to ensure full labor and workplace rights and protections for all workers regardless of immigration status, including the right to organize and enforce worker protections without retaliation;

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED that the AFL-CIO supports immigration reform that will also address the root causes of forced migration by reforming our international trade policies to protect workers and families of all nations.

(End Resolution No. 23)

RESOLUTION NO. 24

Our Nation Needs New Priorities: Cut Military Spending to Invest in Our People and Communities

WHEREAS, Congress is embroiled in a continuing battle over spending priorities that threatens to eviscerate essential government programs in the non-defense discretionary budget, such as air traffic controllers, workplace safety and health, Head Start and other education aid, the diplomatic service, housing, environmental protection, medical research, public safety and innumerable other essential programs, services and government functions; and

WHEREAS, since 2002 military spending has grown by 35% (48% if you include war costs)—a rate that is more than four times the growth in domestic discretionary spending, which increased by only 8% over the same period; and

WHEREAS, the military budget now accounts for 57% of all discretionary spending, and U.S. military spending now accounts for 42% of all global military spending, is five times that of China, the next highest, and exceeds the combined military spending of the next fourteen countries; and

WHEREAS, the war in Afghanistan continues to cost over \$100 billion a year, a significant portion of which is lost to corruption, fraud, waste and abuse; and

WHEREAS, our economic policies must create millions more jobs but money spent on the military creates many fewer jobs than the same money spent on education, health care, and clean energy; and

WHEREAS, the problem of terrorism is more effectively handled by police and intelligence activity, choking off financing, diplomacy, development aid and other non-military means; and

WHEREAS, true national security must include security in people's health, education, employment, retirement, food and environment, as well as a functioning modern infrastructure to support sustainable economic activity; therefore be it:

RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO calls upon the Congress and President to end the Afghanistan war with a rapid and full drawdown of military forces to be completed by the end of this year; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO calls for a change in the nation's course and priorities by endorsing a national budgetary strategy that increases tax revenues from the wealthy and large corporations, cuts military spending by the maximum amount consistent with true security, creates stable jobs at living wages, safeguards and strengthens the myriad useful functions the federal government undertakes, and preserves the integrity of Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid and other social safety net programs on which millions of the elderly, children, disabled and others depend; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO calls for cuts in the military budget to be accompanied by federal policies to use money now devoted to weapons production to support conversion of military jobs to civilian purposes and to enhance manufacturing, construction and other economic activity that can absorb the labor force now employed in the defense sector of the economy, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO will undertake an educational campaign on these issues among its affiliates and seek to involve its affiliates in the political tasks necessary to implement this resolution in public policy; and be it finally

RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO will communicate this resolution to President Obama and our senators and Congressional representatives.

(End Resolution No. 24)

RESOLUTION NO. 30

Our Nation Needs New Priorities: Cut Pentagon Spending to Invest in Our People and Communities

WHEREAS, Congress is embroiled in a continuing battle over spending priorities that threatens to eviscerate essential government programs in the non-defense discretionary budget, such as air traffic controllers, workplace safety and health, Head Start and other education aid, the diplomatic service, housing, environmental protection, medical research, public safety and innumerable other essential programs, services and government functions; and

WHEREAS, since 2002 military spending has grown by 35% (48% if you include war costs)—a rate that is more than four times the growth in domestic discretionary spending, which increased by only 8% over the same period; and

WHEREAS, the military budget now accounts for 57% of all discretionary spending, and U.S. military spending now accounts for 42% of all global military spending, is five times that of China, the next highest, and exceeds the combined military spending of the next fourteen countries; and

WHEREAS, the war in Afghanistan continues to cost over \$100 billion a year, a significant portion of which is lost to corruption, fraud, waste and abuse; and

WHEREAS, our economic policies must create millions more jobs but money spent on the military creates many fewer jobs than the same money spent on education, health care, and clean energy; and

WHEREAS, returning veterans have a higher rate of unemployment, suicide and suicide attempts, and homelessness, and many face ongoing challenges due to war-related mental and physical disabilities; and

WHEREAS, the problem of terrorism is more effectively handled by police and intelligence activity, choking off financing, diplomacy, development aid and other non-military means; and

WHEREAS, true national security must include security in people's health, education, employment, retirement, food and environment, as well as functioning modern infrastructure to support sustainable economic activity.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO calls upon the Congress and President to end the war in Afghanistan with a rapid and full drawdown of military forces to be completed by the end of this year; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO calls for a change in the nation's course and priorities by endorsing a national budgetary strategy that increases tax revenues from the wealthy and large corporations, cuts military spending to the amount consistent with true security, creates stable jobs at living wages, safeguards and strengthens the myriad useful functions the federal government undertakes, and preserves and improves the integrity of Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, Veteran's Benefits and other social safety net programs on which millions of the elderly, children, disabled, veterans and others depend; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO calls for cuts in the military budget to be accompanied by federal policies to use money now devoted to weapons production to support conversion of military jobs to civilian purposes and enhance manufacturing, construction and other economic activity that can absorb the labor force now employed in the defense sector of the economy; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO will undertake an educational campaign on these issues and seek to involve union members in the political tasks necessary to implement this resolution in public policy.

(End Resolution No. 30)

RESOLUTION NO. 31

Resolution Supporting a Road Map to Citizenship for Aspiring Americans

WHEREAS, Every day, more than 11 million immigrant aspiring citizens contribute to our communities, our economy, and our country—yet are denied a voice in the workplace and essential rights in our society;

WHEREAS, A strong and vibrant democracy cannot function unless all men and women, regardless of their skin color or where they were born, can participate meaningfully in the political process with full rights and equal protections;

WHEREAS, The union movement recognizes that the way we treat new immigrants reflects our commitment to democracy and the values that define us;

WHEREAS, Working people are strongest when working together and the union movement is strongest when it is open to all workers, regardless of where they come from;

WHEREAS, The creation of a road map to citizenship for new American immigrants would improve wages and labor standards for all workers by empowering immigrant workers and halting employers who take advantage of our failed immigration policies to pursue a race to the bottom;

WHEREAS, Temporary worker programs do not reflect America's values as a democratic society. History teaches that guest worker programs create a second class of workers, unable to exercise even the most fundamental rights, which lowers wages and working conditions for all workers;

WHEREAS, The dreams of young immigrants to have access to quality education and the hopes of millions of immigrants to reunify their families are consistent with American values;

AND WHEREAS, America's unions remain committed to working together on the side of justice for all, along with our community partners, including civil rights, human rights and immigrant rights organizations, to pass fundamental reform that encompasses these principles and strengthens our democracy;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the South Central Federation of Labor, which represents the voices of more than 30,000 workers and their families in south central Wisconsin, and the AFL-CIO call upon Congress to pass commonsense immigration reform that reflects the principles outlined in the unified union movement's framework for comprehensive immigration reform, "Immigration for Shared Prosperity: A Framework for Comprehensive Immigration Reform";

AND BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, The South Central Federation of Labor and the AFL-CIO will continue to work with allies to promote comprehensive immigration

reform based on the principles outlined in this resolution and will communicate this position to Wisconsin's congressional delegation.

(End Resolution No. 31)

RESOLUTION NO. 32

Our Nation Needs New Priorities: Cut Pentagon Spending to Invest in Our People and Communities

WHEREAS, Congress is embroiled in a continuing battle over spending priorities that threatens to eviscerate essential government programs in the non-defense discretionary budget, such as air traffic controllers, workplace safety and health, Head Start and other education aid, the diplomatic service, housing, environmental protection, medical research, public safety and innumerable other essential programs, services and government functions; and

WHEREAS, since 2002 military spending has grown by 35% (48% if you include war costs)—a rate that is more than four times the growth in domestic discretionary spending, which increased by only 8% over the same period; and

WHEREAS, the military budget now accounts for 57% of all discretionary spending, and U.S. military spending now accounts for 42% of all global military spending, is five times that of China, the next highest, and exceeds the combined military spending of the next fourteen countries; and

WHEREAS, the war in Afghanistan continues to cost over \$100 billion a year, a significant portion of which is lost to corruption, fraud, waste and abuse; and

WHEREAS, our economic policies must create millions more jobs but money spent on the military creates many fewer jobs than the same money spent on education, health care, and clean energy; and

WHEREAS, the problem of terrorism is more effectively handled by police and intelligence activity, choking off financing, diplomacy, development aid and other non-military means; and

WHEREAS, true national security must include security in people's health, education, employment, retirement, food and environment, as well as a functioning modern infrastructure to support sustainable economic activity; therefore be it:

RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO calls upon the Congress and President to end the war in Afghanistan with a rapid and full drawdown of military forces to be completed by the end of this year; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO calls for a change in the nation's course and priorities to endorsing a national budgetary strategy that increases tax revenues from the wealthy and large corporations, cuts military spending by the amount consistent

with true security, creates stable jobs at living wages, safeguards and strengthens the myriad useful functions the federal government undertakes, and preserves the integrity of Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, and other social safety net programs on which millions of the elderly, children, disabled and others depend; and be it further:

RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO calls for cuts in the military budget to be accompanied by federal policies to use money now devoted to weapons production to support conversion of military jobs to civilian purposes and enhance manufacturing, construction and other economic activity that can absorb the labor force now employed in the defense sector of the economy, and be it finally

RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO will undertake an educational campaign on these issues among its membership and seek to involve the members in the political tasks necessary to implement this resolution in public policy.

(End Resolution No. 32)

RESOLUTION NO. 43

Concerns of Police Survivors

WHEREAS, a total of 1,539 law enforcement officers died in the line of duty over the past 10 years, affecting as many families and law enforcement agencies; and

WHEREAS, COPS provides training to law enforcement agencies on survivor victimization issues as well as training and assistance to agencies on how to respond to the tragic loss of a law enforcement officer; and

WHEREAS, COPS educates the public of the need to support the law enforcement profession and its survivors; and

WHEREAS, COPS provides resources to assist in the rebuilding of the lives of surviving families and affected co-workers of law enforcement officers killed in the line of duty; and

WHEREAS, support volunteers from COPS will attend the trial of a cop-killer with the family, offering knowledge of the rights of survivors during legal proceedings and assisting surviving families who wish to make a victim impact statement; and

WHEREAS, the National Office of COPS, per the request of a survivor, will initiate a letter-writing campaign from law enforcement survivors when a cop-killer is being considered for parole; and

WHEREAS, COPS offers a number of special events, retreats and programs to support the spouses, parents, children, siblings, and co-workers of law enforcement officers killed in the line of duty, be it

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO endorses and supports the continued efforts of COPS to assist and provide support to all of those affected when a law enforcement officer is killed in the line of duty and to continue to raise awareness of the increased violence toward law enforcement officers as well as to educate the public of the need to support law enforcement officers and their survivors.

(End Resolution No. 43)

RESOLUTION NO. 44

Aurora, Colorado, Police Department

WHEREAS, On July 20, 2012, at a midnight screening of "The Dark Knight Rises," a 24-year-old man gunned down the packed theater, killing and injuring innocent people; and

WHEREAS, police officers were on the scene within 90 seconds followed closely behind by ambulances and emergency crews; and

WHEREAS, police arrested the suspect outside the theater without incident; and

WHEREAS, police later discovered that the suspect booby trapped his apartment with flammable and explosive material leading to the evacuation of five buildings as they worked to disarm the firebomb; be it

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO honors all the brave men and women of the Aurora Police Department and all emergency workers involved for their quick response and arrest during this tragedy as well as their continued efforts to keep the community safe and bring justice to the perpetrator of this heinous crime.

(End Resolution No. 44)

RESOLUTION NO. 45

Social Security Fairness Act

WHEREAS, public safety employees frequently earn a pension outside of Social Security; and

WHEREAS, many public safety employees earn Social Security benefits from extra jobs during their careers as well as from other employment after their public safety career is over; and

WHEREAS, the Social Security benefits they have earned are discounted due to their retirement earnings; and

WHEREAS, survivor benefits are also reduced to public safety retirees to the extent that most will receive nothing should they survive their spouse; be it

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that, for the past decade, the AFL-CIO has supported and will continue to support and advocate for the Social Security Fairness Act that would eliminate the Government Pension Offset and Windfall Elimination provisions from the Social Security Act and bring fairness to public service retirees.
(End Resolution No. 45)

RESOLUTION NO. 46

Enforcement of Provisions of Solidarity Charters

WHEREAS, the AFL-CIO has established a program of Solidarity Charters for local unions which have disaffiliated from the national AFL-CIO. Said unions may be readmitted to state, area and local labor bodies after applying for and receiving a solidarity charter from the National AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, unions granted said solidarity charters agree not to raid or support raiding of any other local union.

WHEREAS, the Service Employees International Union Local 512 of Virginia has disregarded the no raiding promises it made when it applied for and was granted the solidarity charter that allowed for its participation in the Virginia State Federation.

WHEREAS, since its original charter issue date of August 6, 1994, the I.U.P.A. has paid the monthly per capita payments to the national AFL-CIO for all the benefits, rights and protections as an affiliate in good standing of the AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, SEIU conducted a campaign directed at Local 5016 of the International Union of Police Associations, AFL-CIO, which caused said Local to claim that it disaffiliated from the I.U.P.A. and affiliated with SEIU. SEIU provided advice and support to the officers of I.U.P.A. Local 5016 on disaffiliation from said I.U.P.A. and the national AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, SEIU claims to be the fastest growing union in Virginia and counts the results of this raid as part of that growth.

WHEREAS, the International Union of Police Associations, AFL-CIO, has been the target of a raid by SEIU in the past and has documented said raid in a proposed resolution at the AFL-CIO Convention of 2009. Said raid was against I.U.P.A. Local 8000 in California. Said raid included the distribution of disparaging literature to Local 8000's members, including slurs directed at the AFL-CIO leadership.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Service Employees International Union is a pariah organization that seeks to weaken established AFL-CIO affiliates.

THEREFORE, BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the solidarity charters for any Service Employees International Union affiliate that has conducted raids on

AFL-CIO affiliates be revoked. The revocation of said solidarity charters shall mean that the SEIU affiliate shall be expelled from participation in the central labor council or state federation in which it is located.

(End Resolution No. 46)

RESOLUTION NO. 48

Resolution for Health Care Equity for All

WHEREAS, the labor movement has a tremendous history of organizing for social and economic justice for all workers in the spirit of our historic motto, "an injury to one is an injury to all";

WHEREAS, lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) workers are a vital part of the labor movement;

WHEREAS, both the LGBT communities and the labor movement share common concerns for economic and political justice, equal opportunity, and an improved quality of life for all working people;

WHEREAS, access to health care is regularly denied to transgender and gender nonconforming people, who frequently experience discrimination;

WHEREAS, in September 2011, the Pride@Work National Executive Board passed a resolution opposing discrimination on the basis of gender identity in health care and calling on our sisters and brothers in labor to take action in support of transgender workers;

WHEREAS, transgender and gender nonconforming people have great difficulty securing affordable, comprehensive health care, and their situation is compounded by systemic discrimination and health care providers' lack of basic cultural competency on transgender issues;

WHEREAS, many transgender people have their applications for health insurance denied when they disclose their transgender status or transition-related medical history to a potential insurer;

WHEREAS, most health care insurance policies still specifically exclude transgender-related care and services, which often means that transgender workers and family members will not be covered for procedures like: hormone therapy, transitional related surgery, and/or gender identity-related mental health services;

WHEREAS, gender identity discrimination is alienating and keeps people from accessing medically necessary care, and lack of coverage can cause and/or aggravate additional serious and expensive health problems, such as stress-related physical illness, depression, and substance abuse problems;

WHEREAS, self and fully-insured employer health plans are available and attainable and insurance carriers have available plans without blanket exclusions for transgender-related health care, and a growing number of private businesses, three public sector employers (City of San Francisco, City of Berkeley, City of Portland) and some unions including UNITE HERE and SEIU are currently providing trans-inclusive health care coverage.

BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO removes any and all discriminatory health care exclusions directed toward transgender employees and the employee's dependents from its health care policy and require tenants in its Washington, DC, headquarters to do the same.

BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO advocates for trans-gender inclusive health care for its members and members' dependents during bargaining negotiations with employers.

(End Resolution No. 48)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 3

Supporting AFL-CIO Unions Subjected to Raids by Non-Affiliated Unions

WHEREAS, destructive, time consuming, and resource-depleting raids on AFL-CIO unions by non-affiliated Unions are increasing; and

WHEREAS, such raiding activity undermines efforts to promote shared prosperity and weakens the ability of AFL-CIO Unions to establish and maintain wage and benefit standards for working men and women and their families; and

WHEREAS, history has shown that raider unions negotiate inferior contracts, deliver little or no services to their members and lower standards for all workers; and

WHEREAS, such raiding activity is exploited by corporations who seek to undermine AFL-CIO unions and the benefits they provide their members; and

WHEREAS, the AFL-CIO must establish stronger mechanisms to protect its affiliates and the workers they represent from these unprincipled, unbridled, anti-trade union activities;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the AFL-CIO Convention calls upon all affiliates, including state and local central bodies in every state, to work together to defeat attacks on trade union solidarity from non-affiliated unions; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO Convention urges the Executive Council to accord priority consideration to provide the resources needed to defeat raids from non-affiliated unions; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that adequate resources be made available to affiliates from a special fund established for such purposes.

(End Constitutional Amendment No. 3)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 4

Prohibiting Article XX Protection to Non-Affiliated Entities

WHEREAS, upon becoming members of the AFL-CIO, affiliates undertake an obligation to honor all of its Constitutional provisions; and,

WHEREAS, Article XX provides, “[E]ach affiliate shall respect the established collective bargaining relationship of every other affiliate”; and,

WHEREAS, Article XX also provides, “No affiliate shall organize or attempt to represent employees as to whom an established collective bargaining relationship exists with any other affiliate”; and,

WHEREAS, affiliates have established entities with non-affiliates for the purposes of representation and collective bargaining; and,

WHEREAS, under the AFL-CIO Constitution, protections under the Constitution are not extended to non-affiliates;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, to extend Article XX protection to any entity which includes non-affiliates would be tantamount to extending the benefits of the AFL-CIO Constitution to such entities, who are not members, pay no affiliation fees, and which are not themselves bound to the prohibitions of Article XX; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, any entity established or maintained that engages in representational or collective bargaining activities with a non-affiliate is not eligible for Article XX protection.

(End Constitutional Amendment No. 4)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 5

Supporting a New Generation of Leaders

WHEREAS, recognizing that the future of the labor movement depends upon a new generation of leaders, some affiliates, like the IAM, require that its highest officers, who meet the definition of “bona fide executives” as provided under federal law, retire at age 65; and

WHEREAS, the AFL-CIO, in its effort at repositioning and in meeting its objectives of innovation and change, should adopt policies to ensure the presence of a new generation of leaders in its highest leadership offices; and

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, the AFL-CIO will adopt the mandatory retirement

age of 65 for new executive officers holding the positions of President, Secretary-Treasurer, and Executive Vice President.

(End Constitutional Amendment No. 5)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 6

Repeal of Article XX

WHEREAS, Article XX provides, "[E]ach affiliate shall respect the established collective bargaining relationship of every other affiliate"; and,

WHEREAS, Article XX also provides, "No affiliate shall organize or attempt to represent employees as to whom an established collective bargaining relationship exists with any other affiliate"; and,

WHEREAS, the prohibitions reflected by Article XX do not stop non-affiliates or entities created between affiliates and non-affiliates from contributing to raids on other affiliates;

WHEREAS, unless strong measures are urgently taken to strengthen Article XX so that the current situation can be immediately rectified, Article XX is rendered weak and ineffective;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, unless Article XX is strengthened to prevent entities which include non-affiliates from contributing in any fashion from raids on other affiliates, Article XX is repealed.

(End Constitutional Amendment No. 6)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 7

Executive Council and Executive Committee Voting

WHEREAS, the Executive Council is the governing body of the Federation between Conventions;

WHEREAS, the Executive Committee of the Executive Council is the governing body of the Federation between meetings of the Executive Council;

WHEREAS, the Executive Council and Executive Committee are empowered to direct the affairs of the Federation and to take such action and render such decisions as may be necessary and appropriate to safeguard and promote the best interests of the Federation and its affiliated unions;

WHEREAS, in exercising such authority members of the Executive Council and Executive Committee may be asked to vote on policies that do not directly impact the employment opportunities of their members or industry sector;

WHEREAS, in these situations it is unfair to the affiliates and their membership whose employment opportunities are directly impacted by a specific policy or

action to have others with no direct jobs impact to impose their views that may be based, in part, on alliances with non-labor organizations; and

WHEREAS, the Trade and Industrial Departments of the Federation are considered an official method of the Federation for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that Article X, Section 2 of the Constitution be amended by adding the following language:

“At the request of a Trade or Industrial Department or any ten (10) members of the Executive Council, any vote of the Executive Council shall be limited to the members of the Executive Council whose members’ employment opportunities and jobs are directly affected by the matter presented for a vote.”

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that Article X, Section 18(b) of the Constitution be amended by adding the following language:

“At the request of a Trade or Industrial Department or any member of the Executive Committee, any vote of the Executive Committee shall be limited to the members of the Executive Committee whose members’ employment opportunities and jobs are directly affected by the matter presented for a vote.”

(End Constitutional Amendment No. 7)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 8

Expanding the AFL-CIO Executive Council

WHEREAS, it is unreasonable to deny affiliates of the AFL-CIO a seat on the Executive Council while extending additional rights and opportunities to non-labor groups and allies to participate in a unified progressive movement;

THEREFORE, we propose an amendment to Article V, Section 1 to expand the Executive Council by the number of seats necessary to allow for the inclusion and participation by each affiliate with 10,000 members or more.

Article V: Officers, Section 1, to be amended as follows:

The officers shall consist of a President, a Secretary-Treasurer and an Executive Vice President, who shall be the Executive Officers, and 52 _____ Vice Presidents representing affiliated organizations with 10,000 members or more, provided that between conventions the Executive Council shall have the power in the event of either an affiliation with the AFL-CIO of a presently unaffiliated national or international union, or the arising of other circumstances that implicate the solidarity of the labor movement, to create one or more additional Vice Presidencies pending the next regular election

of Vice Presidents and to select members to fill those positions until the next regular election; provided further that the number of such additional Vice Presidencies shall not exceed eight.

Also proposed is a conforming amendment to Article VI: Elections, Section 1(f).
(End Constitutional Amendment No. 8)

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